

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific research

University of Oran

Faculty of Letters, Languages and Arts

Department of Anglo-Saxon Languages

English Section



Magister Thesis

In African Civilisation

**Western Education in Uganda
(1878-1939)**

Presented by :

Dziri Khadidja

Supervised by :

Pr. LAHOUEL.Badra

The Board of Examiners: Soutenué le 30 Juin 2014

Chairperson: Pr. Bouhadiba Zoulikha

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Examiner: Dr. Moufî Leila

Academic year 2013/2014

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Western Education in Uganda

(1878-1939)

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	I
Abstract.....	II
List of Acronyms.....	III
List of Maps.....	IV
List of Tables.....	V
INTRODUCTION.....	01
<u>CHAPTER I:</u> The Missionaries in Uganda (1876-1900).....	05
I-African Education in Uganda	05
1-The Curriculum of African Education	9
2-Methods of teaching	12
II-Muslim education	15
III-The Europeans' arrival in Uganda	16
1-The Missionaries that came to Uganda	18
2-The Objectives behind Missionaries' Work in Uganda	25
3- Missionaries' conflicts	27

<u>CHAPTER II</u> : Missionary Education in Uganda (1900-1924).....	34
I-Development of Missionary Education	34
1-The first established Schools in Uganda	35
2- Missionary Language Policy.....	45
3-Theological Teaching in the Church.....	51
4-Missionary Manual and Industrial training	54
II-Government interventions in the educational field.....	63
<u>CHAPTER III</u> : Government Education in Uganda (1924-1939)	81
I-Changes Introduced in Education	81
1-Language Policy and Teachers’ Training.....	83
2- Changes concerning Agricultural Education.....	86
II- The Relationship between Missionaries and Government.....	94
1- Complementary Relationship	95
2-Disappointment and Conflict.....	101
III-The Response of Ugandan People to Western Education	105
1- Negative Response to Western Education.....	105
2- Positive Response to Western Education	107
CONCLUSION	110
APPENDICES	112
BIBLIOGRAPHY	116

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CAC: Colonial Advisory Committee

CMS: Christian Missionary Society

BEAC: British East Africa Company

LMS: London Missionary Society

MHF: Mill Hill Fathers

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement Colored People

RGS: Royal Geographical Society

SOS: School of Oriental Studies

LIST OF MAPS

MAP1: Missionary route from Zanzibar to Uganda.....24

Map2: Ethnolinguistic Map in Uganda.....50

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 40

Table 2 69

INTRODUCTION

The educational development of any country is based on political, economic and social advancement. Many African countries are classified as underdeveloped because of the bad strategies implied during the colonial period. Therefore, it is important for any government to take the responsibility of improving its educational programs by giving education more care over the other fields.

Since education reflects the advancement of societies, it means that each society has its specific kind and level of education. This intrinsic relation between education and society is endorsed by Durkheim's statement: every community could be identified not only through its moral, religious and political organization but also through the education it provides to its members.¹

It is inferred that education is a difficult term to define. Its existence is as old as the human being. The person grows and develops into a useful individual in his society through the process of learning. So, it is possible to endorse Farrant's definition: "Education describes the total process of humane learning by which knowledge is imparted, facilities trained and skills developed". Education can be offered under formal or non-formal arrangements.²

Education differs from one person to another and from one society to the other. It is agreed that each society wants to transmit its specific knowledge to the following generation. In this respect, it is possible to agree that "Education is the culture ...each generation purposely

¹ R. Oberlé, "L'Histoire de l'Education", *Annales* Vol. 12, No.5, (July 1940), p. 131

² J. S. Farrant, *Principles and Practice of Education*, London: Longman, 1980, p. 56

gives to those who are to be its successors”.³Here the definition embodies the concept of continuity which is deemed as one principle of education by which social customs and traditions are preserved. However, any society is never satisfied without seeking changes and adapting with the new developments. This idea is well developed in Lugard’s book: *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa* in which he states:

*Education...must...fit the ordinary individual to fill a useful member in his environment, with happiness to himself, and to ensure that the exceptional individual should use his abilities for the advancement of the community and not to its detriment, or to the supervision of constituted authority*⁴

Education in the African continent is one of the interesting subjects, historians deal with. For them, African education means the study of African past, cultural heritage and also all what they learn from each other in the present. According to Du Bois⁵, one of the most pressing problems facing peoples of African origin and descent and humanity as a whole is *the problem of education*. For him education is, by derivation and in fact, a drawing out of human powers. Education should at least involve essentially three things: first, a critical knowledge of the past, that is a critical study of the African as well as world history; the second is a question of culture, and lastly an understanding of present and future vital needs of not only continental and Diaspora Africans but also of humanity as a whole.⁶

³ -W.O. Lester-Smith, *Education*, London: Penguin books, 1957, p. 9

⁴ -Reiland Rabaka, W. E. B. Du Bois’, “Involving African Philosophy of Education”, *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 3.No 4 (April 2003), pp. 399-449

⁵ -William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, (February 23,1868-August 27, 1963) was an American sociologist, historian, civil rights activist, pan-Africanist, author and editor.[http://en.wikipedia.org/31 December 2013](http://en.wikipedia.org/31December2013)

⁶ Derrick P. Abridge, *The Educational Thought of W. E. B. Du Bois*, New York : Teachers College Press, 2008

This work discusses the history of Western Education in Uganda. The aim of this study is to cast the light on the evolution of the country's educational system and the changes which had been brought about by the European teachers from their arrival till the Second World War. In order to clarify this theme to the reader, different questions will be answered:

-Was there any kind of education in Uganda before missionaries' arrival?

-What type of education did the later give?

-How was Western education conducted under colonial government?

Chapter one is devoted to informal education which was offered by each ethnic group to train young men and women how to become acceptable and responsible adults in the eyes of their own group. Then, the first European missionaries who came to Uganda and tried to introduce its people to Western education will be dealt with.

Chapter two discusses how formal Western education was introduced in Uganda by the two religious factions. Between 1877 and 1918 formal education was developed by religious organizations. They set the syllabi, wrote the curriculum, set standards of accomplishment for each grade, built and administered the schools, and trained the teachers who staffed them. Missionaries sought to win souls as much as to cultivate minds. Their method was to educate the Ugandans through two types of education: Theological teaching and Manual and Industrial training.

The presence of missionary schools helped the spread of Western-style education in the colonies. Both the Catholics in French Africa and the predominantly Protestant (Anglican, but also other) missionaries in British Africa realized, in the words of Bishop Joseph Shanahan, 'that those who hold

the school hold the country, hold its religion, hold its future'.⁷ Between various churches, rivalry existed to reach as many people as possible. Helped by improved means of communication, this stimulated the rapid spread of missionary educational work in the first half of the 20th century, with enduring results⁸

Chapter three deals with colonial education from 1924 when Uganda became a protectorate till 1939. This period was characterized by the government investments in the educational field, especially when it started controlling education in 1924 through the creation of committees and commissions and when it used new educational strategies.

⁸Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire ? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 26

CHAPTER ONE

MISSIONARIES IN UGANDA

(1876- 1900)

One of the main characteristics of the British Empire was that religion and education were closely linked. This is why formal education was introduced and remained in the hands of missionaries that came to Africa *to civilize the Africans*. As they claimed, they considered themselves as the candle that would lighten the *savages*⁹.

In this chapter, traditional education will be examined to prove that the Africans were not ignorant and that they had their own way of educating their children before missionaries' arrival; then it will be analysed who these missionaries were, and under what circumstances they established themselves in Uganda.

I-AFRICAN EDUCATION IN UGANDA

How was education organized in Uganda before missionaries' arrival? In the early phase of colonial administration, some missionaries in Africa in general and in Uganda in particular believed that they brought education to entirely uneducated people. However, scholars left one in no doubt that Ugandans did possess a kind of customary education. Therefore, I shall attempt to highlight some of the most important aspects of traditional African education¹⁰ in Uganda.

⁹ I. Goodson, S.J. Ball, *Defining the Curriculum*, London: Flamer Press, 1984, p. 156

¹⁰ "Traditional education" and "informal education" are widely used terms to describe this form of education. "Traditional education" may not be the most appropriate term here because children continue to receive this form of education throughout contemporary Uganda, but this term is employed here for the sake of differentiating between missionary European-style of education and a form of education that existed in Uganda before the arrival of Europeans.

For many centuries, Ugandan people used to have their own traditional education, which differed from the European one. The traditional educational system had its characteristics that had contributed to the intellectual enrichment of Uganda. Therefore, historians and educationists destroyed the myth of *the backward Africans* through demonstrating the pre-colonial educational history of Africa. In his book, *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, Ssekamwa argues that Europeans claims were not right for different reasons.

From his point of view, one of these reasons is that European educators were convinced of the state of ignorance the Africans lived in. They thought that education consisted in formal schools, reading and writing and in a special group of teachers. Since they observed no formal schools existed in Uganda, they thought that there was no education. Thus it was their duty to bring knowledge to the Africans to save them physically, mentally and spiritually. The Europeans had got the tendencies to educate the others as they were themselves educated without regard of whether such Africans had been engaged in some educational system of their own. Finally, these early educators viewed education from a narrow angle.¹¹

From his part, Tiberondwa is against this argument when he quotes a traditional ruler of Lango district in Northern Uganda:

...we have had teachers in this area for many centuries. We had our own education long before the Europeans came here and we had teachers who used to conduct traditional education wherever man

Although the descriptions about traditional education explain how people were educated in the past, the same descriptions continue to remain today to describe how many present day Ugandans are educated. W. E. B. Du Bois', op. cit., pp. 399-449

¹¹ J. C. Ssekamwa, *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1997, p. 5

*lived. Even animals, both domestic and wild, have education and have teachers among themselves.*¹²

Both Tiberondwa and Ssekamwa agreed on the fact that Africans in general and Ugandan people in particular had had their educational system which differed totally from the European one. Instead of having teachers, they had parents and old people, and instead of having reading and writing, they had oral transmitting of knowledge. Home and outside round the fire represented the classroom in Uganda. However, Education for Europeans, included reading, writing, mathematics, physics and other sciences; in fact, it is more than that.

Traditional education in Uganda focused on teaching oral traditions and survival skills. It was described as systems of transmitting knowledge by the normal method of a series of practical exercises. Education was linked to production, social life, and culture through the use of vernacular language. The incorporation of cultural practices like games, dancing, music and sports was one of the main characteristics of traditional education¹³. These cultural traditions contributed to reinforce youth's ethnic identity and pride. However, many of Ugandan children were prevented from learning about these traditions after the advent of Western education. Among the first generations of Acholi to attend a missionary school, Ugandan writer Okot P'Bitek described how colonial European education erased African identity:

*Overdressed in his dark suit, he walks out of the university gate, out into the world, materially comfortable, but culturally casted, dead. A lost victim of the school system, he cannot dance or play the music of his own people...*¹⁴

¹² A.K.Tiberondwa, *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism in Uganda*, 2nd ed., Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1977, 1998, p.1

¹³ B. Brack, "The African Universities and the African Heritage", *International Review of Education* Vol. 85. NO. 1 (1999), pp. 87-104

¹⁴ Okot P'Bitek, *African's Cultural Revolution*, Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1973, p. 13

Before missionaries' arrival to Uganda there existed no schools, trained teachers or teaching tenets. Knowledge and messages were transmitted orally by old people. As Ki-Zerbo¹⁵ quotes, Amadou Hampacte Ba said:

*When an elder dies in Africa, it is a library that burns. In fact, the truth is more disastrous. The elder's death is the equivalent of the burning of a unique and living manuscript that could not be found again.*¹⁶

Although its cultures differed greatly in most aspects, the pre-colonial Uganda had its education system. Prior to the coming of Christian missionaries, there had existed no schools of the type that Ugandan people had after missionary arrival. Nonetheless, people were educated and trained. There existed what the Europeans describe as informal education.

1-The Curriculum of African Education

Before missionaries' arrival, there was no formal curriculum. The curriculum was all the societal experiences with regard to culture, customs, beliefs and values. Instruction was basically given freely by elders and peers. Instructional methods were through demonstrations, stories, folklore, songs...etc. Evaluation was through observations. Individual's performance in real situations in life; for example through battles, production, marriages, civic duties and leadership.

The Ugandan traditional education was set to produce an individual for the community. It was education for morality. In their daily life, children had to feel their belonging to a group; they needed to be protected through their membership of their own society¹⁷. However, education failed to take into consideration the world beyond

¹⁵ Joseph Ki-Zerbo (June 21, 1922-December 04, 2006) was a Burkinabe politician and writer. He was recognized as one of Africa's foremost thinkers.<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph-Ki-Zerbo>/31 December 2013

¹⁶ B. Brack, op. cit., p. 88

¹⁷ J. C. Ssekamwa, *op.cit.*, p. 9

Uganda. In its part, Muslim education gave a great importance to religion and stressed subjects such as science.

Accordingly, discipline and respect were emphasized. The instruction normally took place round the fireplace after the evening meal or whenever a child committed an offence. Through stories, tales and riddles, the mother or grandmother would alert the children to what society expected from them as they grew up. The fathers would, through proverbs, stories and direct instruction, teach the young boys their expected roles in society. Some tribes used capital punishments to alert the young generations to the gravity of particular cases of indiscipline and immorality. The Bakiga, for instance, would end the life of a pregnant girl by trying and throwing her down a steep cliff in order to teach those who contemplated having sex before marriage that the consequences would be bitter. As for Banyankole, they would curse and disown the girl who became pregnant for reasons similar to those of the Bakiga. The Langi and the Acholi would fine the boy heavily for such misconduct. This would help persuade the young that such an act was socially undesirable. If, for example, a man was caught committing adultery with another man's wife from other tribes he would be killed by the offended party and there would be no case to answer. Among the Karimojong, the offended man would confiscate all the cattle of the offender and he would continue to confiscate everything the offender would come to possess until honour had been restored to the offended. Some other punitive measures were taken to curb indiscipline and dishonesty in society. The punishments varied according to the weight of the offence as it was viewed by a given tribe. Most tribes decried stealing and sorcery and in an attempt to educate the young not to indulge in such activities, the thieves and the sorcerer were either chased away from the village or even killed.¹⁸

Education was not only confined to discipline. It was a process which catered for all facets of the individual. All that was taught was geared towards the creation of an ideal individual who would ably fit into the society in which he was born and lived. In order to encourage togetherness and co-operation, the history of the society was often recounted. Among the Kakwa, the Baganda and the Banyoro, there were special persons with the duty of recounting the history of those societies.

¹⁸ Ibid

The people were taught about their origins, their relations with their neighbours as well as the common instances of rejoicing and suffering. The main purpose in this recounting of the people's historical and social traditions was to enable the society to preserve a common heritage and identity.¹⁹

It was imperative that the young be taught their cultural values, norms, taboos and totems. The young were taught the do's and don'ts of the society into which they were born. They were taught about their clans and the totems and the taboos of those clans. Besides, they were also taught about their clan relations. The boys were taught and trained to grow up into responsible men in much the same way as the girls were trained to grow up in responsible housewives. The boys among Ugandan tribes like the Bakonjo, Bamba, Bagishu were initiated into manhood by undergoing the ritual of circumcision. Accordingly, the fathers would train the boys in methods of herding, fighting, hunting, agriculture and trade. And the mothers would instruct the young girls in the proper ways of cooking, basketry, pottery, childcare, dressing and other functions related to housekeeping.²⁰

It is important to note that religion in Buganda took a great part in their life. In order to build a solid faith, Buganda people taught their children about four topics: gods (*Balubare*), fetishes (*Mayembe*), amulets (*Nsiriba*) and ghosts (*Mzimu*). As in the other religions they believed in the existence of two worlds connected to each other; the physical and the spiritual.²¹

Before missionary arrival, Ugandans had their religions through which they worshipped God. These religions were practised in special houses

¹⁹ www.buganda.com/culture.htm.09/09/2009.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ John, Roscoe, *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs*, London: Macmillan 1911, p. 271

and in holy groves. There were women and men who were in charge of these religions. They looked after these houses and taught people religion, its ceremonies and prayers. They were also responsible for educating and ordaining other people to become religious men and women.²²

Religion and medicine were closely related. The priests played an important role of diagnosing the illness of the people and of treating it. They had a wide knowledge of different medicines and how to treat the sick of people. So they taught what they knew to children and adults.

In general terms, therefore, if one wants a striking example of African education, pre-colonial Uganda provided it. Those who mastered the skills in their respective fields were held in high esteem. The diviner and healer in Bugishu occupied high positions. The Etogo or Ateker was as much a legislative body as the parliament of today.

In the light of what has been given, historians like Ssekamwa and Tiberandwa observed a kind of curriculum that reflected a developed system of education in African education. In their work this curriculum is based mainly on the environment, cooperation, belonging to a group, discipline, culture, leadership, religion and medical knowledge. Then, one can say that African people were in a state of awareness that permitted them to develop a successful process of teaching.

2-Methods of teaching

According to Ssekamwa there were two methods of teaching in African education. Mini Lecture methods combined with instant practice and practical method. The first one was based on telling the child the knowledge which he should know. For example, a child was told the correct way of greeting people. He was then told to repeat what he was

²² Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 12

taught. If he did it correctly, he would be encouraged. If he made a mistake, the parents or any member of the society would repeat the correct way and the child was required to repeat saying what he was taught until he got it right. After some time, the parents or any other member of society would create a situation which required the child to repeat the same thing until he learnt it correctly.

To make the process of learning easier and to create a good atmosphere, learning was transmitted through storytelling, songs, rhyme and games. When they became old, the children were introduced to idioms, proverbs and riddles. This permitted children and adult persons to acquire plenty of philosophy, psychology, economics, politics, history and culture.²³

It is necessary to point out that traditional education was customary in Uganda. Tiberondwa had rightly observed in his research that among tribes in pre-colonial Uganda, there was too much reliance on inculcation of fear and punishment as a means of teaching. Among the Ankole, slow learners and offenders were killed to discourage slow learning and warning young people from committing similar offences.²⁴ This educational strategy was designed to produce an ideal. Discipline, honesty, industriousness, and respect were emphasised.

The second method of teaching was related to production which requires the practice of technical skills. In this case the child had to observe the parents or another member of society demonstrating the skill necessary to do something. Then he repeated the skill over and over again until he got it correct. For example, if a boy had to be taught how to use a spear and shield in fighting, he was shown how to hold the

²³ Ssekamwa, op., cit, p. 5

²⁴ A. K. Tiberondwa, *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism in Uganda*, 2nd ed., Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1977, 1998, p. 10

spear and the shield, how to throw it and how to defend himself. He practised the skill until he would master it.²⁵

Accordingly, Uganda's traditional education emphasized learning-by-doing and the creation of a sense of community and fellowship among students with an understanding of the trials, attributions, and achievements of their ancestors. Children were taught how to assimilate with their community and how to survive in the face of adversity²⁶.

For the technical skills, boys would acquire skills while working alongside their fathers just as girls would duly acquire skills while working alongside their mothers. If one father was a blacksmith, his son would learn the art by working with him. This helps to explain why some skills like iron-working, rain-making, divination, healing, pottery and several other specialties tended to be hereditary. As an example, one finds that many tribes in Uganda were craftsmen like the Okebu who were iron-workers, the *Banabuddu* of Buganda who were bark cloth makers, the Banyoro who were red-spear makers. These skills were not found generally within each tribe but they were particularly found in individual clans within the given tribe.²⁷

The two methods of teaching show to what extent Ugandan people were aware of the strategies they should select in order to pass their knowledge to the next generation correctly so that they could prepare future leaders and wise members of society and to prepare the suitable manpower to work in different fields.

Traditional education proved that the Africans were not *ignorant* as the Europeans claimed. They had had an organized system of education which had been typical to Africa and through which they had preserved their customs, traditions, and culture before the foreigner arrived.

²⁵ Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 6

²⁶ J.R. Page, *Amid Chaos Preserving Order*, U S A: Berghahn books, 2000, p. 32

²⁷ Ibid.

II-Muslim education

Islam arrived in Uganda thirty three years before Christianity was introduced by the missionaries in the late 1860s. It came to Uganda through Zanzibar and Tanzania from the south and also through Sudan and Egypt from the North. The group from Zanzibar was led by Sheikh Ahmed-bin- Ibrahim and included Arabs and Swahilis. They began their route from the coast, to Tabora then north around the western shore of Lake Victoria.²⁸

Since 1844, Arab caravans had visited the court of the Kabaka at Banda, near Kyambogo, in Kampala and besides trading; they sought to convert him and his followers. Kabaka Ssuuna II Kileleshwa II admired the new knowledge and wanted his people to learn it, so that they could cope with the new situation. He exchanged ivory and slaves with several goods like cloth, glass ornaments, beads, mirrors, swords...etc. The Arabs gave the Kabaka the weapons which would help him to defeat his enemies in case of wars.²⁹

The friendship between Kabaka Ssuuna II and the Arabs did not last for a long time. This disagreement started when the Kabaka refused to be converted to Islam. The Arabs did not accept his inhuman behaviour with his people. As a result, the Kabaka asked them to leave his Kingdom.

The Afro-Arabs who came with Islam to Uganda were traders. Their role of converting people to Islam was engaged in as a secondary activity. It was called *dawa* and was done in their free time. As a result Buganda adopted the Islamic calendar and many Buganda learnt Arabic³⁰.

²⁸ J.F. Ade Ajayi, (eds.), *General History of Africa, VI Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s*, Abridged Edition, Oxford, California Press, Unesco, 1998, p. 79

²⁹ A. Oded, *Islam in Uganda: Islamization through a Centralized State in Pre-colonial Africa*, New York: Halsted Press 1974, p. 38-39

³⁰ J.C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., pp. 25-26

During the pre-colonial era, Islam gained many followers rapidly and the king who succeeded Ssuuna II, King Mukaabaya Walugembe Muteesa I welcomed Islam warmly. So, he gained Muslims' support and started to gain more social and religious power. He was surrounded by the priests and oracles who were the spokesmen of divinities and the interpreters of their messages.³¹ However, Muslims' religious success was short-lived when the westerners reached Uganda, because trade was put in the first position.

III-The Europeans' arrival in Uganda

British explorers were eager to discover the mysterious Nile headwaters despite danger, diseases and attacks. Besides their aim of exploring the high mountains, lakes and rivers, they were looking for fame and glory. Martin Dugard mentioned:

...finding the source became the new grail of international discovery. There was no pot of gold, no fountain of eternal youth at the source, just glory which, for most, was enough between 1798 and 1856 an eclectic collection of loners, thrill seekers, and adventurous aristocrats trekked upriver from Cairo, chasing the source. Most were British. Handful were female. Most died from disease, parasites, animal attack, or murder. None found the source. None came close.³²

In 1862, the British explorer John Speke and his fellow explorer Grant explored Lake Victoria³³. Speke presented a Bible to the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara. In 1873, the British explorer Henry Morton Stanley arrived to Uganda. He had been sent by the

³¹ J. Chima. Korieh and Raphael Chijioko Nnjoku, *Missions, and European Expansion in Africa*, New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 56

³² M. Dugard, *Into Africa: The Epic Adventure of Stanley & Livingstone*, USA: Doubleday, 2003, p. 18

³³ Lake Victoria: the largest in Africa, 26,000 square miles (67,000) in size, almost as big as Scotland, nowadays is bordered by three countries: Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. In Victorian times it found redoubled glory as the long-sought source of the Nile.

Royal Geographical Society³⁴ to prove whether Speke and Grant were right or wrong when they said that the Lake Victoria was the source of the river Nile. He confirmed that they were right.³⁵ Stanley came in the suitable time and provided the King with firearms that made him politically stronger. He also gave the Kabaka Bible lessons and asked missionaries to come and spread their religion in Uganda.

These explorers paved the way to the European missionaries that were the first who established the basic institutions of western education in Uganda as well as to the British colonial power. As the architect of British colonialism in Uganda, Frederick Lugard declared in 1893. “We have a perspective right in East Africa and its lakes they were all discovered by the British explorers. Our Missionaries first penetrated to Uganda in the footsteps of our explorers”³⁶. King Muteesa, the Kabaka of Buganda, appreciated Christianity and asked Stanley to write a letter in English on his behalf to Queen Victoria of England appealing for missionaries. The letter was published in the Daily telegraph-newspaper in England in November 1875.

*Oh! That some pious, practical missionary would come here: what a field of harvest ripe for the sickle of civilization! Muteesa would give him any thing he desired –houses, land, cattle and.... etc. He might call a province his own in a day.*³⁷

This letter clarified how the Kabaka was never satisfied with the kind of education and religion he had. At first, he admired Muslims’ education then, he invited Europeans to teach his people. Muteesa 1 thought that some of Europeans’ knowledge would help him defend his country better against Egypt and foreign threat and it would help him to create good diplomatic relationship with Britain. This event was a

³⁴ The Royal Geographical Society is a British learned society founded in 1830 with the name Geographical Society of London for the advancement of geographical sciences, under the patronage of King William IV. It absorbed the 'Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa' also known as the African Association (founded by Sir Joseph Banks in 1788), the Raleigh Club and the Palestine Association. It was given a Royal charter by Queen Victoria in 18 April 2009 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_Geography_Society>20/12/2013

³⁵ J. C. Ssekamwa. op. cit., p. 26

³⁶ J. A. Mangan, *The Imperial Curriculum*, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 134

³⁷ Rowe, J., in, *Christian Missionaries and the State in the Third World*, H. B. Hansen, M. Twaddle, Oxford: James Currey, 2002, p. 53

turning point in the history of education in Uganda from which formal education began with the arrival of missions.

1-The Missionaries that came to Uganda

When Muteesa's appealing for European teachers appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* in England, at once some British teachers belonging to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) volunteered to come and teach the people of Uganda. When missionaries came to Uganda, they were encouraged to spread Christianity in East Africa and were afforded donations that reached £24,000.³⁸

In the spring of 1876 the Church Missionary Society had planned to travel, and the pioneers' party, consisting of eight members, sailed to Uganda³⁹. However, before leaving the coast one of them called James Robertson died because of health problems. Two others, Clark and W. M. Robertson came back to Britain because they could not carry on the journey, and Mackay had to stay in Zanzibar because of fever. The Rev. C. T Wilson from Manchester and the ex-Lieutenant of the Royal Navy George Shergold-Smith eventually arrived at Muteesa's Court in June 1877, and the reception accorded the missionaries by the king exceeded all their expectations. The first CMS Missionaries were coldly welcomed by Muteesa I and were asked to live in the village of Nateete near his palace of Kasubi Nabulagala in Kampala. He expressed himself eager to learn all about Christianity. In fact, he doubted that there was a spy among the guests working for Britain, especially when he heard about Captain Gordon being a spy working for Britain.⁴⁰ This was illustrated in a letter which was written by Shergold Smith:

This was our reception. I could not see, so my report is that of ear...Calling one of our guides, I heard his animated report. Then the Sultan of Zanzibar's letter was read, after which the C.M.S's.It

³⁸ A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, "Christianity in Uganda" *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol.2 No. 7 (April 1903), p. 276

³⁹ A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, op. cit., p. 291

⁴⁰ Andrew Porter, op. Cit., p. 57

was read in Swahili by a young fellow named Mufta, one of the boys Stanley had brought with him, and left with the king at his request, to teach him to read the Bible...The following day, we went twice...he seemed suspicious of us, and questioned us about Gordon, and rather wanted to bully us into making powder and shot...We said we came to do as the letter told him, not to make powder and shot; and if he wished it, we would not say. He paused for some time, and then said, "What have you come for –to teach my people to read and write? We said, "Yes, and whatever useful arts we and those coming may know." Then he said, "Now my heart is good: England is my friend." He asked after Queen Victoria, and asked to know which was greatest, she or the Khedive of Egypt. The relative size of their dominions was explained to him...⁴¹

The Kabaka's aim behind inviting the British missionaries was more than teaching his people, he wanted weapons to reinforce his Army so that he could protect his kingdom. When the missionaries told him that they had nothing to do with politics and that they came only to convert his people and to teach them literacy and skills, he became dissatisfied. However, he did not lose hope that one day they would change their mind and would bring him weapons.

In November 1878, Wilson, the survivor of the party was joined by Alexander Mackay who became the most famous among the first missionary teachers of the Church Missionary Society. The Buganda wanted to "Ugandanize" him by initiating him into their clan of the Lungfish⁴². Mackay was very respected, especially by the Buganda people as Andrew Melrose reported:

...the chief secret of Mackay's influence lay in his mechanical skill, for which they had great admiration, not unmixed with fear. All kinds of iron implements were brought to him to repair; and when they

⁴¹ C. Puldorf, *Eating Uganda*, Nortants: Ituri Publication, 1999, p. 42

*saw him burning metal until it shone, their astonishment and admiration knew no bounds.*⁴³

In the following spring, the missionaries were joined with another group from England (Pearson, Litchfield and Felkin). Kabaka Muteesa housed them at the court and supplied them with enthusiastic boys brought over from different parts of the kingdom to serve as pages to facilitate the missionary work.⁴⁴ Most of the 'mission boys' that were converted came from people of low estate, former slaves and poor people. For a society that was highly hierarchical the stage was set for these young men to make the most out of the available opportunities.

At the beginning of their arrival, less than seven protestant missionaries were active in Uganda and soon convinced the king with his people of the advantages of Christianity. The protestant missionaries waited with eagerness for the day when Muteesa should forever throw off his religion and embrace the new faith. They planned to break down the old religious customs and to establish Christianity in Uganda.

The protestant missionaries had not been alone in their interest in Stanley's advocacy of Buganda as a field of missionary enterprise. Other missionaries of the French White Fathers⁴⁵, governed by Cardinal Charles Martinal Allemand Lavigerie, came to Uganda. Their interest in Uganda appeared in Brussels geography Conference in September 1876. Its aim was to encourage scientific expeditions in unknown areas

⁴³ S. R. Karugire, *A Political history of Uganda*, Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980, p. 62

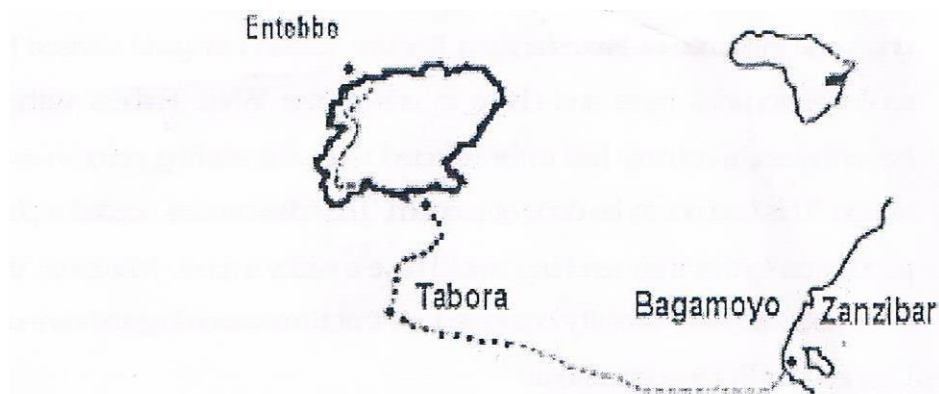
⁴⁴ C. K. Njoku, *Missions, States, and European Expansion in Africa*, 2007, p. 103

⁴⁵ White Fathers: The Society of the Missionaries of Africa was founded by C.M.A. Lavigerie, at Algiers in 1868. It is composed of secular priests and coadjutor brothers living in community without vows, but bound by solemn oath to lifelong work in the African mission and obedience to their superiors. They wear a white tunic and a cloak or burnous with rosary round the neck. Their constitutions were approved by the Holy See in 1885 and confirmed in 1908. The White Fathers devote themselves to a thorough four years' preparation of the Africans for the baptism and to the subsequent training of converts for trades, agriculture, missionary work, and for the priesthood. E. A. Livingstone (ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 174

in Africa.⁴⁶ For the same aim an African International Association was created. The fact that most of its members were Protestants worried the Catholics about the future of their religious advancement in Africa. They thought that this organization would work just for promoting Protestantism in Africa. The Catholics were urged to compete with the Protestants in Uganda, especially when they had heard of their sophisticated political and social life of Buganda⁴⁷.

In February 1878, one of the important acts of Pope Léon XIII was to delegate charge of missionary work in East Central Africa to the Algerian Society of the White Fathers. On May 30, the group landed in Zanzibar where they stayed few days. Then they crossed Tabora arriving in Uganda. The party reached Uganda after hardships on February 17, 1879, under the guidance of father Lourdel and brother Amans. They landed at Entebbe and by June the whole party was settled at Rubaga.⁴⁸ (Map 1, route 1, p. 24)

Map 1: Missionaries route from Zanzibar to Uganda



Source: Marinus Rooijackers, op.cit., p.10

⁴⁶ Jean-Claude Ceillier, *Histoire des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs): de la Fondation par Mgr. Lavigerie à la Mort du Fondateur 1886-1898*, Paris : Karthala, 2008, p. 122

⁴⁷ By the mid 19th century, Buganda became a dominant state in East Africa under a centralized Kingship. In 1875, Henry Morton Stanley visited Buganda and provided an estimate of Buganda troop strength. At Buganda's capital, Stanley found a well-ordered town of about 40,000 surrounding the King's palace. The British were impressed with the government of Buganda under Kabaka Mwanga II /[www. Wikipedia.org/wiki/Buganda-history](http://www.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Buganda-history) of Buganda/23.03.2014

⁴⁸ Christopher. Byaruhanga, *Bishop Alfred Robert Tucker and the Establishment of the African Anglican Church*, London: Religious Tract Society, 1910, p. 60

These missionaries had taken orders not to enter in open conflict with the Protestants by Cardinal Lavigerie. He asked his missionaries not to open any station near a Protestant one. However, it was practically impossible for his instructions to be carried out in Uganda because it was the public policy of one community that all foreigners' activities should be carried out at the King's court.⁴⁹

After the missionaries' arrival, it became possible for the kabaka Muteesa to choose between three religions – traditional Ganda religion, Islam, and Christianity- depending on his immediate political, economic, and military needs.

The respective missions and their leaders Mackay for the CMS and Lourdel for the Catholics were involved in doctrinal differentiation. While the Catholics claimed that they came to teach the Africans an original version of Christianity, the Protestants attacked the catholic theology for making Mary, the mother of Jesus, and the saints the centre of their worship instead of the point of God. This situation was clearly illustrated in 1879 when Kabaka Muteesa (who ruled between 1856 and 1884) organized a debate between the Anglican missionary Alexander Mackay and the Catholic Simon F. Lourdel. The Church Missionary Society had started work in Uganda in 1877. The King wanted to know more about the difference between Protestant and Catholic. Addressing himself to Father Lourdel, he said "Read me something and give me your prayer". Lourdel then took the Swahili catechism of the Holy Ghost Fathers and read the first chapters, with Muteesa listening attentively. In effect, he knew that language perfectly. When the Father finished, he asked Mackay what he thought of the reading. Mackay replied: "Very good. I did notice, however, that he called the Holy Virgin the Mother of God, which is false: God, having no beginning, cannot have a mother." "Excuse me," interjected Lourdel, "he did not begin as God, that's true, but he began as a man; and when he became a man, he wished to be borne of a mother." The King indicated that he understood the distinction; Mackay did not persist on that question, but shifted to another point. "The Catholics say that their leader is impeccable and thus put him in the place of God.

⁴⁹ -Ibid

That is impossible.” Lourdel responded “Distinguish, please, between impeccability and infallibility. We affirm the latter but not the former.” Mackay did not persist⁵⁰

As a result, Muteesa became confused on hearing from the Catholics that their views were not in an accord with those of the Protestants. He, however, still kept his friendship towards his old guests. For a while Uganda wavered between two factions that gave almost equal arguments.⁵¹

Meanwhile, the Muslim chiefs at the Kabaka court have not given up on Islam. They responded to the religious struggle with a determinate campaign to discredit their Christian rivals. Although Kabaka Muteesa had twice declared Buganda an Islamic state, he mistrusted their increasing influence. This was one reason why he had decided to admit Christian missionaries into the country; his aim was to encourage three groups to compete against each other. Muteesa manipulated the religions in order to discover the secret of their powers. However, when their conflict reached the top and their pressure became unbearable, he simply became evasive.

2- The Objectives behind Missionaries’ Work in Uganda

Many controversies about the real reasons behind missionaries’ existence in Uganda arose. Most agreed that they came for pure religious reasons. The missions wanted to be the only religious enterprise to give formal education. The same situation happened in Britain itself where, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Sunday school offered virtually the only formal educational experiences for most the population⁵². Ugandan children, like the British working-class children, were taught to read the bible, the catechism and religious texts. In the mission schools religion pervaded the whole curriculum. This point will be explained later.

⁵⁰ Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig & Mariano Delgado, *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990*, 2007: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, p. 201

⁵¹ A. T. Matson, “The instruction Issued in 1876 and 1878 to the Pioneer C.M.S. Parties to Karagwe and Uganda” , *Journal of Religion in Africa* , Vol. 13, NO. 1, (April 1982), pp. 25-46

⁵² Ormsby Gore, “Education Policy in British Tropical Africa” , *Journal of British studies* , Vol. 52, No. 3, p. 152

Missionaries used churches and schools in order to achieve their primary aim of transforming the Ugandans into “good Christians” and of saving them from paganism as they claimed. However, with time they diverged to political and economic objectives. They were transformed from God servers to Crown servers. Missions gave the types of education that dealt with the political field by forming the educated elites who would be the future leaders of the country.

Missionaries came to Uganda also for economic reasons. Through their schools they tried to provide colonial administration with necessary man power. It is suggested that missionaries were sent by the Queen to control trade in Uganda on the one hand and to exclude Muslim traders on the other hand.

Missionaries had the efforts to restrict the spread of Islam. Therefore, they started schools which provided the only Western education and excluded Muslim children by cutting Muslims off from skills necessary to their advancement. The result was to reinforce the importance of commerce for the material advancement of the Christian inhabitants.

It was agreed that missionaries wanted to educate the Africans for many reasons: to win converts, rehabilitate the freed slaves, westernise the Africans and teach them literacy so that they could read the Bible. Moreover, they wanted to teach the Africans hygiene and western medicine.

Finally, they wanted to introduce Western commerce and industry. Carnoy⁵³ suggests that the missionaries came to Africa for the sake of transporting capitalistic thought. They came with the idea of producing goods that were demanded in European markets⁵⁴. However, other historians saw that this argument was difficult to be accepted because it showed a narrow vision towards missionaries who had

⁵³ Martin Carnoy: a labour economist and writer with a special interest in the relation between economy and educational system/www.epi.org/people/martin.07.04.2014

⁵⁴ I. G. Stephen, op. cit, p. 157

differences in ideologies. It also did not take into account the important role the missionaries played to spread their religion. The Christian Missionary Society, for example, rejected the materialism of capitalist industrial society, which they left behind in Britain. This mission associated the industrial advancement witnessed in Europe with corruption which did not go with the basic Christian values.

The missionaries were unwilling to teach secular skills to Africans because some feared to teach such skills would threaten their monopoly in the educational field. Even during the 1920's, the CMS still taught no skilled trades in most of its East African schools, but instead only simple tasks.⁵⁵

3- Missionaries' conflicts

Missionaries imagined that no obstacle would interrupt their dreams of defeating Islam and evangelization was on the eve of becoming an accomplished fact; however, their dreams had not come true and new obstacles appeared. This was in December 1879, when a wave of Ugandans started to obliterate whatever good work was done by missionaries. This trouble happened because of the missionaries' interference in the Ugandan's traditional life.⁵⁶

Muteesa was suffering from an incurable disease that urged him to ask the help of the medicine men who could communicate with the spirit of ancestors that controlled the king's destiny. However, the Ugandan doctors were unable to cure the king, what pushed the Kabaka to ask the other religious leaders' help.

The search for cure was considered as an important example for politics and ideological competition among the diverse religious leaders. The CMS missionary Alexander Mackay, Muslim Imams, and local Ganda healers- all met at the court seeking to do Mutesa favour. Muslims involved powers of the Quranic verses and

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ A. F. Mockler and Ferryman, *op. cit.*, p. 286

prayers to cure the king; the Christians applied mild antiseptics and prayed for divine intervention. Meanwhile Mugema, the medium of Mukasa, the God of Lake Victoria, pronounced that the King became ill because he attempted to misappropriate his position by submitting to alien religions.

The missionaries' conflict against natives shifted to a conflict between Protestants and Catholics. It would be mentioned how frequently the missionaries became involved in factional intrigues as well as in national politics. The rival claims of the British and the German powers were upheld by these "ministers of God" in their work among the Africans. The two factions were set up and their African followers were encouraged to fight. They instructed their African followers in secular matters besides religious matters. Eliot, who was the commissioner for the East African Protectorate, commented on the situation:

The early days of Christianity in Uganda were very stormy. The missions met with alternate encouragement and persecutions; Protestants fought with Roman Catholics, and both with Mohammedans. The rivalry between the first two sects was particularly severe and practically political since they represented the British and French parties.⁵⁷

One kind of the conflict regarded the followers of the Protestant Missionaries, the Roman Catholic Missionaries and the Arab Muslims. Each group of these missionaries wanted to have its own Ugandan followers. It did not want to see that Ugandan people mixed with those who followed the teaching of another group of missionary. Therefore, hatred and suspicions began to develop between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics on the one hand and the Muslims on the other hand in Uganda.⁵⁸

Another conflict which developed was political. Each group of these missionaries wanted to get political influence at the court of Muteesa I at the exclusion of the

⁵⁷ Ramkrishna Mukhejee, *Uganda, in Historical Accident? Class Nation, State formation*, New Jersey: Africa World Press, p.98

⁵⁸ J. C. Ssekamwa, *op. cit.*, p. 29

others. Each missionary also wanted to see that its followers were the only servants and chiefs of Muteesa I at the exclusion of the other groups. This fact caused much hatred and suspicions among them.

What God represents for each religion group caused a serious problem. Each group was telling Ugandan people that what the other group was teaching was not according to the wishes of God almighty. So the follower of one group of teachers looked at the followers of the other groups, as anti -God and destined to die and to live in Hell for eternity. They argued about their religious items from the point of view of their teachers and they never agreed.

The conflict was also about what each religious group forbade their followers from doing. These teachers told that certain things were against the wishes of God. For example, the Arab Muslims told their followers that it was against God's wishes for Muslims to eat meat when a sheep had not been slaughtered by a Muslim. So if Muteesa gave his Muslim chiefs and servants' meat which had not been slaughtered by a Muslim, they refused to eat it. This annoyed the Kabaka. If for example, Muteesa I told the followers of the Catholics and the followers of the Protestants to look after his church in the palace called "masabo", they refused. They would tell him that the British and the French teachers had taught them that it was against God's will for people to keep "masabo" and to pray in them. God wanted the Protestants to build "Kanissa" and the Roman Catholic to build "Keleezia" and to pray in those buildings because they were holly. For missionaries, the "masabo" were places of Satan. This annoyed Muteesa and made him to look at missionaries as disturbing elements in the Buganda society.⁵⁹

The last years of Muteesa's reign had witnessed extraordinary religious changes in Uganda. A great deal of natives had been baptized by the protestant missionaries, and many converts followed the Roman Catholics. The two streams of the English Protestants and the French Catholics became dominant and each party endeavoured to undermine the other.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 30

Up to this time the Church Missionary Society had dispatched more reinforcements to Uganda, and James Hannington had been consecrated first Bishop of Uganda just before Muteesa's death. At the end of 1882, the French missionaries had removed from Uganda; the English missionaries seized the opportunity to redouble their efforts among the native population.⁶⁰

On the accession of the Kabaka's son Basammula Ekkere Mwanga II (who ruled between 1884 and 1897), the Catholic and Anglican missionaries lost their privileged position. Their persecution was inaugurated with the murder of James Hannington, The first Anglican Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, in 1885.⁶¹ Mwanga threatened the Christians with extermination. He denounced that all alien religions as destructive to the welfare of his kingdom. During his reign the persecution of Christians increased; some of them were seized, and the others were roasted to death. The killing of Hannington was subsequently followed up by a series of actions against all Christian converts. As a climax, on June 1886, suspected rebels, most of them young pages, were openly cooked alive at Namugongo, a few miles outside the modern capital city Kampala.

The missionaries did not give up their religious duties of conversion, "In spite of martyrdom by torture and burning", says Lugard, "the religion grew, and converts came to be baptized, though they knew that the profession of the Christian Faith might cost them their lives on the marrow"⁶².

In 1888 Mwanga was deposed after a great revolt had been declared by all the alien religions among them the Christians, and Kiwewa –Mwanga's brother– was placed on the throne. The chief offices were taken over by the Christians. This management led to the jealousy of the Mohammedans who attacked the Christian chiefs and murdered them. The rest of the Christians fled massacre to Ankole while missionaries were sent down the lake.

⁶⁰ A.F. Mockler-Ferryman, *op.cit.*, p. 286

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 287

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 289

In 1892, a civil war broke out between Protestants and Catholics. As a result, the Catholics fled to the southern Province of Buddu; Mwanga found protection with the Germans. However, the agent of the East Africa Company, Captain D. F. Lugard, wished to give greater political and economic accessibility to the area; he offered Mwanga a treaty. The Anglican pastor H. W. Kitakule reported:

I am writing to you a second time to tell you about Uganda. In my first letter I told you how we fought with the Catholics and drove out King Mwanga. Well, when he had driven out the Catholics King Mwanga ran away and reached Kisiba, which is German territory, and remained there. We sent him many written proposals, saying that we wish him to return to his throne, we invited him, he run away from the Catholics and we restored him to his throne. Further we assigned to all the Catholics a district of Uganda, Budo, and there they lived apart. We told them that we do not wish to mix with the Catholics again.⁶³

Later in the year, the Christians, having been reinforced with more supply of arms attacked the Mohammedans, seized the capital and reinstated Mwanga. In December 1900 a treaty was signed with Mwanga whose country had been placed under the influence of Great Britain, but disputes between the Catholics and the Protestants increased rather than diminished each day.

After Lugard's arrival, Bishop Tucker and three new protestant missionaries reached Uganda. During this period, many Ugandans were converted to Christianity; there were two hundred baptized Christians and sixty communicants. In May 1892 Bishop Tucker "admitted six natives to deacons" orders, licensed ten lay evangelists, and confirmed 141 candidates.⁶⁴

⁶³ Klaus. Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig & Mariano Delgado, *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990*, Nairobi: Eerdmans, 2007, P. 203

⁶⁴ Ado K. Tiberondwa, op. Cit., p. 56

During 1894 nearly 150 teachers were distributed throughout the country, and were upheld either by the chiefs or by public subscriptions; upwards of 200 churches were erected in various parts, with congregations estimated at a total of not less than 20.000, and the natives bought 12.000 copies of scriptural translations. Until 1901 the statistics recorded: a total European staff of 59 (22 clergy, 2 medical missionaries, 13 lay missionaries, and 22 ladies).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 57

CHAPTER II

Missionary Education in Uganda

(1900-1924)

The era between 1900 and 1919 was deemed as “the missionaries’ golden age” during which their role was based on convincing the Africans to send their children to missionary schools and to put them under the influence of Christianity. Missionaries designed an educational policy under which they separated individuals from their traditional milieu. How did they develop their educational policy?

I-Development of Missionary Education

Before demonstrating the first established schools in Uganda, it is important to expose some differences between Western education and Ugandan education. With the advent of missionary education, Ugandan people started to receive a type of education which was quite different from that of African education. Western education was carried out in schools unlike African education which took place mainly in homesteads and anywhere people engaged in economic, political and social activities.⁶⁶ In African education, teachers were produced by missionaries and trained in particular schools. However, every intelligent and responsible citizen was capable of giving the children basic knowledge and basic skills necessary to be useful to themselves, to their families and to the rest of the society. The number of enrolled children in the new schools was limited in Western education, but in African education everyone had to learn. This was so because Ugandan children had to acquire basic knowledge in order to be useful in the society in which they live. African

⁶⁶ J. C. Ssekamwa, *op.cit.*, p. 42

education was based on oral tradition but western education relied very much on reading and writing.⁶⁷

1) The first established Schools in Uganda

Ssekamwa traces the first schools to 1897 when the real structure of primary and high school education was designed – a Fortier structure composed of village schools, vernacular schools, central schools and high schools. These first schools were non-indigenous in which a couple of hundred children enrolled in 1898.⁶⁸

Boarding schools with greater educational opportunities were founded by the missions after 1904, for the more important and the more promising children from all parts of the country. These schools were considered as the educational centres of the African élite who would replace the households of rulers and great chiefs. It was thought that the children who joined these schools would be the future leaders in Uganda. Thus Bishop Alfred Tucker wrote:

We felt strongly that if the ruling classes in the country were to exercise in the days to come an influence for good upon their people, and have a sense of responsibility towards them, it was absolutely essential for something to be done and that speedily for the education of their children on the soundest possible lines.⁶⁹

The foundations were led for the largest western-educated elements in eastern and central Africa. Because there were more places in Anglican than in Roman Catholic boarding schools at this time there were to be, for at least the next two generations to come, larger numbers of Protestants than Roman Catholics in Uganda's African élite.

⁶⁷ J. C. Ssekamwa, op.cit., p. 43-45

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ J. C. Sseekamwa, op. cit., p. 47

In 1901, a Catholic chief, Stanislaus Mugwanya, the father of formal education in Uganda, requested the missionaries to start a school that would mainly teach English. It was this that made the missionaries think of offering a form of education designed to help build pupils' character and prepare them for the changing world in which they lived. For this reason, between 1902 and 1906, seven boarding schools were opened to serve this purpose.

The majority of these schools were attended mainly by children of chiefs and influential positions of responsibility in the society. Two high schools were also established. Namilyango high school founded in 1901, it was located between Kampala and Jinja. Three years later, the rival Protestant CMS founded Mengo High School for boys on February 22, 1904, situated near the administrative headquarters of Kabaka.⁷⁰ Two years later, in 1906, they established King's College Budo for boys and Gyaza High School for girls, both of which became the leading boarding schools in the country. Lubaga high school was founded in 1908. To attend these schools, students were required to pay £6,13s as a contribution to a dormitory and £2,10s in other fees. By monetary standard of the time, this was an exorbitant amount of money to extract from Africans.⁷¹ The schools' curriculum emphasized obedience to the Christian faith and colonial authorities. The CMS ensured that "Christian truth was made the basis of all that was taught, and Christian morals the basis of discipline."⁷²

From the annual report of 1907 statistics were extracted concerning primary education. There were 31,865 children under instruction in the primary schools connected with the Anglican Church. Of these, 17,007 were boys and 14,865 were girls.

It is interesting to note the distribution of the total number of children under instruction in the several provinces of the protectorate. The relative advance in each province would thus be seen at glance in this table which was extracted from the colonial report on education under the same period.

⁷⁰ G. Herbert, *Uganda in Transformation in 1876-1926*, London: The Church Missionary Society, 1926, p.187

⁷¹ C. W. Hattersley, *The Baganda at Home*, London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, 1968, p.162

⁷² Great Britain, Cd.2379 Special report on Educational Subjects, p. 248

Table1: The distribution of the total number of children under instruction in Uganda

Province	1904-1905	1905-1906	1906-1907
Uganda	16,377	21,942	24,824
Western	715	3,158	4,907
Central	1,089	1,219	2,144
Grand Total			
	18,181	25,100	31,865

Source: Uganda Annual Report for 1907-1908, UNESCO Contract NO. 104 145 55

The course of instruction varied considerably. In the schools in the remoter districts, reading, writing, and arithmetic were stressed but at such centres as Kampala, Hoima, Kabaro, Kabarole, English was taught, and such subjects as dictation, geography, and grammar were also part of the curriculum. Bible reading and religious teaching formed the basis of all the instruction.⁷³

During the year of 1907 there had been a considerable improvement in school building and other equipment. In the more remote districts, already referred to, the Church was presented in primitive structures while the more advanced districts brick-built schoolrooms were founded. The latest building of this kind was the Mengo High School by Winston S. Churchill, which cost some £600. The equipment of primary schools had also improved considerably; fifteen hundred rupees (£100) had been spent during the year on desks, blackboards, slates.....etc.⁷⁴

During the same year, many efforts were made to promote secondary education. A third dormitory in connection with King's School for higher education, at Budo, had

⁷³ Uganda Annual Report for 1907-1908, UNESCO Contract, NO. 104 145 55

⁷⁴ Ibid

been completed and was opened early in the following year. This school was intended to provide a secondary education on public school lines. A scheme was on foot for providing this school with well-equipped workshops, with a view to imparting to each pupil a certain amount of manual and technical instruction.

At each missionary centre, considerable attention was given to the training of school teachers. But at Namirembe there was a properly constituted school for the training of school masters. Twenty-five young men were in residence, and found the practical part of their training in the Namirembe Primary School, which had an attendance of some 500 boys. Although this Normal School had supplied trained school masters to more than 40 schools in various parts of the country, it was quite inadequate to meet all the requests which were asked from different parts of the country for trained school masters.⁷⁵

In order to further the work of education in Uganda, a Board of Education was formed in 1907. Working in connection with the Board to whom reports were made were two school inspectors-the Rev. H. W. Whitehead and W. C. Hattersley. All the questions affecting the educational work of the Anglican Church in Uganda came before the Board of education. Grants were made from funds placed at its disposal by the Bishop for school equipment. The Board also advised the building of new schools, the repair of old ones, the supply of teachers and their pay and training; in fact, any question affecting the educational interests of the protectorate was felt to be within its province.⁷⁶The establishment of these schools went hand in hand with the rapid spread of Christianity in Uganda. When the number of adherents increased, regular catechism classes were organized, and minimum periods, measured in years, were prescribed for pre-baptismal instruction.

This division of mission schools according to religious denomination displayed an important characteristic of missionary education, which was denominational. The Catholic children had to attend The Catholic schools not the Anglican schools, the

⁷⁶ J. C. Sseekamwa, *op.cit.*, p. 48

same thing for the Protestants. Yet, this division did not reject the unity of the content of their instruction in which religion was the main stream.

For a long time, the contact between the two factions was strained. Different religious orientations developed among the people, partly due to the nature of denominational education. Roman Catholic missions combined broadly-based low-level education with specialized seminary-type training for a selected few; the Protestants offered wider opportunities for intermediate and extended instruction, and their curricula were more closely geared to the requirements of the administration.

In the early period of missionary domination of the educational field, the curriculum was designed for the aim of providing basic knowledge of reading, writing and simple arithmetic. The missionary educators considered these skills as important for understanding the Bible since evangelization was the root of missionary education, and for inculcating the values of Western civilization. English was introduced as the language of instruction, whatever the pupils' mother tongue.

In mission schools it was taught that there was only one God who happened to be white, but the devil was black, sin itself was black. The church and the European teachers glorified Christianity as the real vanguard of civilization. They claimed that Christianity was godly, rational and culturally universally beneficial to all peoples⁷⁷. Missionary teachers dismissed the Ugandan traditional culture and religion.

These missionaries were convinced that African religious values were inferior; for this reason they tried by all means to purge Africans' spiritual ground. They attempted to achieve their objective by following a classic and favoured conversion model that dates back to the nineteenth century. This strategy was known as "concentration versus diffusion".⁷⁸ Proponents of this strategy worked from the perspective that they needed to isolate and protect converts from back sliding to their traditional belief systems. In Uganda, Christian missionaries adopted the concentration model for the

⁷⁷ Sseekamwa, op. cit., p. 46

⁷⁸ Louis George Mylne, *Missions for Hindu: a Contribution to the Study of Missionary Methods*, London: Longman, 1908, p. 19

purpose of building churches, denominational elementary and industrial schools. The main aim of schools was to create an institutional environment that was conducted to win converts, initially among sons and relatives of chiefs from the kingdoms of Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro, and Toro, and to train Ugandan catechists and workers.⁷⁹

It is impossible to deal with missionary types of education without introducing the type of schools that were set up by missionaries and the curriculum followed within each school. The dominant schools in Uganda were the Catechist schools. They were established with the help of Ugandan Catechists, the local chief and his people who were seeking to be baptized. The curriculum of these catechist schools consisted in mainly learning Christian prayers and catechism. But the Protestant Church soon insisted that the pupils in these catechist schools also had to learn reading and writing. The Catholic Missionaries adapted the same kind of the Protestant schools.⁸⁰

The missionaries built numerous schools called “the Village schools”, or “bush schools”, These schools worked as schools as churches on week days and were directed by Ugandan teachers. Their curriculum included Christian prayers and Christian practice, catechism, reading and writing, some history and geography, and cultivating of fields to produce food for pupils. At the same time, the pupils learnt the value of labour. After the pupils in the catechist schools had learnt all that there was in those schools, they usually joined the village schools. Vernacular schools were found at Parish or Mission posts where there were two or three European missionaries. They were under the management of a European missionary and assisted by a number of African teachers. These schools were joined by the pupils who had completed the village schools. Their curriculum included Christian instruction and its practice, reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, biology, agriculture, singing and games. Central schools were also at particular parishes where there were European missionaries. These schools had six classes and directed by European missionaries. They were joined by pupils who had completed the Vernacular schools, in the fifth class. A class for training teachers was an important characteristic of central schools. Teachers became catechists and preachers, and they were sent out to establish catechist schools in the countryside. Other teachers taught in Vernacular schools and

⁷⁹ A. Lyold. Fallers, *All the Kings Men*, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 146

⁸⁰ J.C. Sseekamwa, op. cit., p. 40

in the lower classes of the Central schools according to the evaluation of the European missionaries. The curriculum of the Central schools included Christian instruction and its practice, Bible history, arithmetic, geography, history, grammar, singing, English and games. English was taught to pupils in order to prepare them to work in Government Departments as clerks and interpreters. In addition, there were high schools that received their candidates from Central schools. They were boarding junior secondary schools. These schools were set up for the children of chiefs and highly placed people in society. They were headed by European missionaries. Most of the teachers were Europeans who were assisted by African teachers from the lower level classes. The curriculum covered arithmetic, geography biology, drawing, music Christian instruction and practice, English, drill, games, hygiene and history.⁸¹

The Missionaries started preaching their faith only to immediate members of the court of King Muteesa, Kabaka of Buganda. The first Christians were known as “the Readers”. They were evangelized through being taught to read using the New Testament⁸². The Protestant teachers from the Church Missionary Society established the first Bible schools based on “The Book” in the same year in Buganda. They did so at the request of the King of Buganda, Kabaka Muteesa I. Two years later, the French Catholic Fathers initiated catechist schools.

There were two dominant religious factions; the Protestants were predominant in the central counties of Shema, Igara, Kashari, and Rwampara, whereas Roman Catholics concentrated in the Northern peripheral areas of Bunyarunguru, Buhweju, and Ibanda and to a lesser extent in Isingiro in the south.⁸³

Theological teaching started and continued in churches and missionary schools. The preachers focused on baptizing Ugandan people and spreading the knowledge of reading and writing to facilitate native contact with Western civilization. The basic

⁸¹ J.C. Sseekamwa, Op. Cit., pp. 41-43

⁸² Jean Brierley and Tomas Spear, “Muteesa and the Missionary and Christian Conversion in Uganda”, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Boston University, Vol. 21. NO. 4 (1988), p. 601

⁸³ M. R. Doornbos, “Ethnicity, Christianity, and Development of Social Stratification in Colonial Ankole”, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 9, NO.4 (1976), pp.555-575

institutions of African missions were catechists and schools, with a medical dispensary not far behind. Catechists were local people who had learnt the elements of the religion and were able to pass it on. Mackay realised that all native Gods were cure workers.⁸⁴

Between 1877 and 1879, children and adults were taught religion, reading, writing and arithmetic. The missionaries' houses and compounds formed the initial formal schools.⁸⁵ Those who were following lessons at these missionary posts for a year or more could be found attending lessons together in the same group with those who had just joined the lessons. Therefore, it was necessary to set up a system which would allow the separation of those who had just joined from those who had been attending lessons for some considerable time.⁸⁶

In 1895 the Church Missionary Society took the further step of forming bush schools.⁸⁷ Staffed by catechists and pupil teachers, these spread to many parts of the protectorate. Their education tended to be literary. These schools were attached to the local village church and enjoyed considerable local support.

Schools in the places where missionaries lived were better built. Each place was called a "Mission" or "Parish". This was intended "to look after the souls" of the pupils and of the other Christians who did not attend school but who went to those places to pray, especially on Sundays. In the same Parish, there was a school building. Pupils were taught Bible reading, writing, numeracy, a new approach to agriculture and some technical skills. Then in the same Parish, there was a hospital or a dispensary to look after the health of the pupils and of other people.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Cedric Pulford, op. cit., p. 49

⁸⁵ UNESCO Contract, No. 10414555, Kenya: Nairobi, 1996

⁸⁶ J. C. Ssekamwa, Op. cit., p. 39

⁸⁷ Bush school: It is on the model of the local 'synagogi' first developed by Arthur Fisher in Western Buganda. Ibid

⁸⁸ J.C. Ssekamwa, op. cit

Through bush schools missionaries tried to transmit new ideas and to introduce large improvements in the general life of Ugandan people. Moreover, missionary education was effective through the church as Dr Oldham pointed out:

*Its value may easily be under-estimated by those who have fallen into the habit of thinking of education in terms of books and manual skills and examinations. The Christian evangelist is the bearer of new ideas. His message sets people thinking. By introducing new standards, by its discipline, by its teaching on the family, on marriage, on social obligation, on the duty of kindness and helpfulness not only to those to whom such consideration is due by tribal custom but to all, the Christian Church is a powerful educative source.*⁸⁹

2) Missionary Language Policy

Language was the first thing to be taken into consideration by missionaries in order to teach the gospel. Since Evangelism was the reason of their existence and of their efforts, they made an important decision, which was instructing in vernacular languages. Teaching for religious purposes should not interfere with native traditions in Bishop Tucker's point of view. Teaching religion in the English language leads to the denationalization of natives⁹⁰.

Uganda had thirty different African languages in addition to Swahili. Its linguistic diversity had been coupled during the colonial period by the diversity of economic, social and political situation of the inhabitants of Uganda. The South and West comprising Buganda Ankole, Kigezi, Toro and Bunyoro were Bantu speaking areas, and nearly two-thirds of the population of Uganda speak one of the closely related Bantu Languages. The Eastern Bantu Languages (Luganda, Lusoga, Lumasaba,

⁸⁹ J.H. Oldham, B.D. Gibson, *The Remaking of Man in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 50

⁹⁰ Jean Brierley and Tomas Spear, op. cit., p. 620

Lugwere, Lunyole, Lusamia) were spoken by a third of the country's population, while the Western Bantu Languages (Runyankole, Rukiga, Runyanwanda, Rutoro, Runyoro Rurundi, Rokonjo, Rwanba) were spoken by an almost equal proportion. The North-East was associated with Eastern Nilotic Languages (Akaramojong, Ateso, Kakwa and Sebei), the North with the Western Nilotic Languages (Lango, Acholi, Alur, Dhopadhola and Kumam) and the extreme North-West with the Central Soudanic Languages (Lugbara and Madi).⁹¹ (See Map 2)

⁹¹ Criper, Clive-Ladefoged, Peter : *Linguistic Complexity in Uganda*, pp.145-149

Map 2: Ethno linguistic Map in Uganda



Source: [www.wikipedia.org/language/map/colonial Uganda/23.03.2014](http://www.wikipedia.org/language/map/colonial%20Uganda/23.03.2014)

The first step to develop missionary teaching was translating the Bible into different vernaculars. At first, Tucker accepted the argument that Luganda was sufficient, but as the Church was expanded outside Buganda, he became convinced that it was necessary to translate the Bible into different vernaculars. The Anglican tradition was that worship should be in the language understood by people. The first steps were made when O'Neill and Wilson collected lists of words from different vernacular languages like Luganda, Kisukuma, Kikerewe and other Island languages in order to be studied before they arrived in Uganda. Services were held entirely in Swahili until Wilson and Dallington Mufta translated Lord's Prayer into Luganda in May 1879⁹². Meanwhile Swahili used to be the main language of instruction in religious subjects until 1893. The Luganda version of Bible was completed in 1896 thanks to a group of pioneers like Henry Wright Duta and George Pilkington, the CMS missionary who before his death in 1897 had translated the whole Bible into Luganda. Others made translations into the western languages. Because of the spread of Ganda Agents, and also because of Pilkington's translation of the Bible, Luganda became the official language of the Church and the State for most of eastern and northern Uganda.⁹³

It is important to note that Swahili language was not new to Uganda. It was introduced to the country long before the coming of Europeans and used as trade language and a means of inter-ethnic communication in the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro as well as other parts of the present-day Uganda. Before 1900 it was used by missions as a medium of instruction. Soon after the establishment of colonial rule, there were many efforts to make Luganda the lingua franca of the protectorate. Both the Anglican missionaries and the White Fathers turned from Swahili and favoured the use of Luganda because it was the language of Baganda who had the power and the influence under the patronage of the British. Between 1900 and 1912, Kiswahili was the official local language.⁹⁴ Another setback to Kiswahili which came with the agreement was the recognition of Buganda people as administrators of other colonized

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ J. C. Sseekamwa, op. cit., p. 114

⁹⁴ P. Ladfoged, *Language in Uganda*, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 22-24

regions of Uganda. This was considered as a result of their early submissiveness and collaboration with colonial rule and subsequent acceptance of western education.⁹⁵

Religious teaching was not an easy task, especially when obstacles interrupt missionary's teaching task. One example was that of Wilson and Mackay who used sticks of charcoal to write on pieces of wood, and painted large type syllables on sheets with brushes in order to provide reading materials for their pupils. These hard and laborious methods were taken off in February 1879 when the British missionary brought up a small printing press. Wilson started to print in Luganda vocabulary folk tales and few short excerpts from the Bible⁹⁶.

Mackay also played an important role when he collected what was left of the large printing press at Kagei five years later, and incorporated parts of it in the machine, which printed his Luganda translation of St. Mathew at Natete in March 1887.⁹⁷ He considered the language barrier as a positive advantage; his superior knowledge of Kiswahili made him the spokesman for the CMS mission even when his views were not shared by the other missionaries. It provided him also with a powerful and an influential position as Kabaka Mutesa's personal adviser⁹⁸.

Christian missionary schooling spread quickly as the demand for European education grew among the Ugandan people, who perceived the benefits associated with obtaining European education. These benefits included the good economic and social status that was accorded to Westernized, literate Africans. People saw how the Baganda had profited from these advantages because educated Baganda gained access to clerical positions in the protectorate government. Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o explained the prestige and the power associated with literacy in Africa:

⁹⁵ H. A. Marshad, *Kiswahili Aukingareza*, Nairobi, 1993, p. 15

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ A. F. Mockler- Ferryman, op. cit., p.278

⁹⁸ Philip Turner, The Wisdom of the teachers and the Gospel of the Christ, *Journal of Religious Studies in Africa*, Vol. 4, Fasc. (1971-1972), p. 53

The privileging of the written over the oral had roots in the relationship of power in society and history...the dominant social forces had become identified with the civilized and the written⁹⁹

Ugandan people started to perceive missionary education as more valuable than traditional education, and the missionaries found the suitable situation to persuade these people to propagate Christianity and missionary schooling throughout Uganda.

In 1897, Bishop Tucker decided to reorganize education in his diocese and gave C. W. Hattersley the responsibility of building a system of primary schools throughout his diocese. At first, Tucker's efforts were focused on making the converts literate so that they could read religious books. By 1901, he recognized that education should have a two-fold purpose. First, because Tucker believed that good citizenship depended on good character, he felt education should build students' character to make them good citizens of their country. Secondly, education should prepare Africans to function in the world at large. He felt Africans would be best prepared for the world with a high school education. He hoped that graduates of these schools would go out to take up places of responsibility in the administrative, commercial, and industrial life of Uganda. Thanks to his efforts, a network of schools developed throughout Uganda which became a basis for future development. Tucker's school system made provisions for Africans to move from the lowest social status to the highest, if they demonstrated competency. Besides Tucker's efforts the CMS founded the Mengo Hospital in 1897 in which many figures were formed in order to develop the medical mission in Uganda¹⁰⁰.

3-Theological Teaching in the Church

The Church was one of the important educational institutions in which Christian Ugandans were formed. This is why the role of the Church will be demonstrated, briefly examining its main characteristics that were deemed as the basis of religious teaching.

⁹⁹ Ngugi wa thiong'o. Penpoints, *Gun Points and Dreams: Towards a Critical Theory of the Arts and the State in Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1998, p. 108

¹⁰⁰ J.C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p.134

Religious teaching in the Church was deeply connected with wisdom. Christ was taught to be the teacher of wisdom who provided the believer with practical advice about daily living. Action and decision were generally justified by quoting some verses or stories from the New Testament¹⁰¹. The Bible¹⁰² was used as a book of teachings to provide examples and lessons. It included a new and higher wisdom which was interpreted by the teacher. Believers identified the situation that they might face in life through verses, parables and tales. Verses were read to give advice about their mystery and justify action on the basis of unquestionable models. Within the Church of Uganda the presence of Christ was known through sermons, Bible reading, Sunday prayers and meetings at which believers shared their personal experience of Christ.

In their Bible teaching, missionaries spread the idea that ignorance was a curse of God and knowledge the wings with which we fly into heaven.¹⁰³ The education development of the people of Uganda approved the truth of this statement. In Uganda, Christianity appeared more as a way of living than a question of theological thinking. Theological interest was not given a great importance. Although Ugandans had practised their traditional religion for a long time, many of them embraced Christianity and came to be baptized. Yet their faith was superficial; baptism for them was the only way to acquire education, money and possibly real power.

The fruit of missionary educational institution were clearly proved with the remarkable growth in the number of Christian adherents in Uganda. Between 1914 and 1915 the Anglican Church showed an increase of over 46.000 adherents and the

¹⁰¹- Philip Turner, op. cit., p. 59

¹⁰²-The Bible is the sacred Book, or collections of books, accepted by the Christian Church as uniquely inspired by God, and thus authorities providing guidelines for belief and behavior. Many verses throughout the Bible attest to its divine origin. But the Bible was not simply dictated word-for-word by God; it is also a work of its many different human authors. The different writing skills, writing styles, personalities, word views, and cultural backgrounds of the human authors can be seen in their works. Many of the New Testament books were

¹⁰³-R. H. Walker, "A History of education in Uganda", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 16, NO. 64 (July 1917), pp. 283-286

Roman Catholic Church showed an increase of nearly 6.500 adherents. The Christian adherents were more than half the population of Uganda¹⁰⁴.

The rapid spread of Christianity did not mean that all Ugandan people accepted missionary education. As the missionaries strove to rehabilitate freed slaves, some Ugandan chiefs whose business was based on slave trade refused to follow them and even fought them. Besides, most of the Ugandans were not ready to forego their own culture in favour of a new one.¹⁰⁵

Missionaries' work was not an easy task in terms of converting and teaching an alien race with an alien religion, culture and language. The Ugandan people were offered a predominantly religious education in which the lives of the upright and holy men in the Bible were magnified. The Ugandans were taught to read, write, and do arithmetic, but not to a level that would make the recipients literary giants.¹⁰⁶ However, they engaged in another type of education, which they considered as necessary for awakening Ugandans' intelligence and improving their way of life.

The finances for missionary schools were fees collected from central and boarding schools, grants from diocesan funds raised by members of the Church, small grants from kingdoms such as Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, and other government units. The first financial contribution from the Uganda Protectorate Government was given in 1907. The government gave 100 pounds to the Church Missionary Society for King's College Buddo. The government did not give anything to the Mill Hill Fathers and to the White Father Missionaries for their educational work that year. In 1909, the Uganda Protectorate Government gave 150 pounds to King's College Buddo, 300 pounds to the rest of CMS schools, 300 pounds to the White Fathers schools and 100 pounds to the schools run by the Mill Hill Fathers.¹⁰⁷ The financial grants to the educational effort by the Uganda Protectorate Government went on rising year by year due to the constant requests by the Missionaries for the government to assist them.

¹⁰⁴ A. F. Mockler- Ferryman, op. cit., p. 358

¹⁰⁵ Frederick Cooper, *African Workers and Imperial Designs*, Melbourne University Press, 2007, p. 280

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ J. C. Sseekamwa, op. cit., p48

During this period, Uganda Protectorate Government did not uphold the missionaries' education of Ugandan people because the colonial officials had feared that the Ugandans would use the knowledge they received through schooling to threaten British existence in Uganda. But when the British expanded their administration and economic activities, they decided to teach these people the necessary skills for working in the lower posts in the colonial bureaucracy and enterprises. Trained Africans could replace the more expensive Indians the British had brought as railroad labourers from their colony of India.

4-Missionary Manual and Industrial training

Technical and vocational education was defined as the education which was mainly to lead participants to acquire the practical skills, knowhow and understanding, and for employment in a particular occupation. Such particular skills or know how could be provided in a wide range of settings by multiple providers both in the public and private sector¹⁰⁸

The early missionary educators endeavoured teaching manual skills in addition to their major preoccupation of providing Christian and literary education to the Ugandans. In this respect, Maurice Evans pointed out in his book *Black and White in South-East Africa*:

Their work has gone far beyond the preaching of the gospel and such literary instruction would enable their disciples to read the bible. They have entered into the life of the people, have taught trades, encouraged thrift and industry, made efforts to teach better furniture, and taught them some simple industriesthe

¹⁰⁸ Atchoerena. Delhic, *Revising Technical and Vocational Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: an update on trends innovations and challenges*, Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2001, p. 67

*missionary stands to the native for all the help he may get his life cleaner and more moral and more in keeping with the ideals of the white man at his best.*¹⁰⁹

Academic training was considered as necessary to reinforce the educational work of missionaries, while vocational education provided training to substitute the Asian manpower that existed in Uganda. Self-reliance, punctuality, and general helpfulness were the most important characteristics of technical education. It made individuals as they grew up to look as ideal and helpful¹¹⁰. However, there was a religious view that did not welcome vocational education. Some religious factions believed that this kind of education deflected the mission from their spiritual work and minimize their value in the eyes of Africans.¹¹¹

Industrial education was one of the new aspects that appeared in Africa with the European invasion. The CMS developed the industrial side in Uganda under Bourap who introduced the growing of cotton as a cash crop in that country. In addition, a commercial organization was established by the missionaries. This organization was developed into a major commercial and industrial firm, the Uganda Company, established in 1903 with a capital raised in Britain largely from wealthy Christian philanthropists. Many carpenters, printers, brick workers, builders were trained under the direction of the Company.

Missionaries' interest in industrial education was embodied in the establishment of industrial schools. The CMS founded the Mengo High School for boys on February 22, 1904, situated near the administrative headquarters of the Kabaka.¹¹² Two years later, in 1906, they established King's College Budo for boys and Gayaza High School for girls, both of which became the leading boarding schools in the country.

¹⁰⁹ T.F. vector Briton, "Education of the African", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 17, NO. 67, p. 95

¹¹⁰-R. M. Strayer, "the Making of Mission School in Kenya: A Microcosmic a perspective" *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 62, NO. 17, (1973), pp 313-320

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² G. H. Jones, *Uganda in Transformation 1876-1926*, London: The Church Missionary Society, 1926, p. 187

The schools' curriculum emphasized obedience to the Christian faith and colonial authorities. The CMS ensured that the Christian truth was made the basis of all that was taught, and Christian morals made the basis of discipline.¹¹³ Industrial subjects such as carpentry, joinery, and woodturning were only taught when African pupils had demonstrated competency in the basic tenets of Christian discipline and morals. At Mengo Industrial Mission, industrial instruction was carried out under the leadership of Superintendent Kristen E. Borup and his assistant. Borup was not especially qualified for his position, but his business experiences in Europe and America were taken as sufficient qualifications for conducting the training. His apprentices lived on the school premises and received practical training on building dwelling houses, workshops, public halls and cathedrals. The industrial training was made available to Africans because the small white European population in Uganda did not compete in industrial occupations. This enabled the European Christian Missionaries to train Africans so that they would become cheap sources of industrial labour.¹¹⁴

The chiefs' sons were given a special vocational education. It is interesting to note that Alexander Mackay was one of the famous missionary teachers who made his best in training Ugandans' boys. Mackay applied his practical resources and engineer's training to help the students achieve any things was needed: boat-building, carving type, printing, weaving, constructing a road, baking bricks...etc. Mackay could gain the Ugandan's hearts, and could open the access of their understanding by his magic energy and inventiveness.

Missionaries were the pioneers in introducing medical training and forming a new corps. The formation of this corps brought a great change in the development of the educational field in Uganda and its fruits emerged early. One of these pioneers was Alfred Tucker. He quickly realized that Ugandans were in very poor health because traditional medicine could not deal effectively with the kind of diseases plaguing them. So, like education, medical work became an integral part of his missionary strategy. On this topic, Tucker wrote:

¹¹³ C. W. Hattersley, *The Baganda at Home*, London: Frank Gress and Co.Ltd, 1968, p. 162

¹¹⁴ Great Britain, Cd. 2379 Special Report on Education Subjects, pp. 194-195

*One felt that, altogether apart from its value as an evangelistic agency, medical missionary work was needed to kindle the spark of Christ-like pity and compassion and to bring home to the hearts and consciences of these Buganda who were beginning to run the Christian course, the duty and privilege of ministering to the sick and suffering.*¹¹⁵

To reinforce the advent of scientific medicine in Uganda, Tucker invited Dr Albert Cook and nursing sister Katherine Timpson to the country. They arrived in early February 1897 in Mengo where they were both assigned to work. On February 22, 1897, medical work began, with King Mwanga who was one of the first patients. With Tucker's strong encouragement, Dr Cook began to treat Africans with modern medicine which was soon made available all over Uganda.¹¹⁶

Soon people throughout East Africa knew about this institution in Tucker's diocese of Uganda that could relieve suffering. This modern medical and surgical knowledge had such an impact on the old traditional methods of treatment that Africans no longer interpreted disease in terms of witchcraft.

The medical corps was given more concern especially before the First World War. The corps was a school boy unit. The students were submitted to a severe test. Most of them were taken from a peasant class of people. What is interesting to note is that a lot of the volunteers freely participated for war service. They left a life of leisure and security for the hardship of the campaign to serve the sick and wounded of their race.

With the arrival of the colonial power, industrial training was getting more concern in the missionaries' educational work. In 1914, many educational programs were

¹¹⁵ G. J. Keane, "The African Native Medical Corps", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 19, No. 76 (July 1920), p. 295

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 296-304

suggested by a missionary group in 1914 but there was no support from the Colonial Office¹¹⁷.

Besides these efforts vocational education was developed in Uganda under the study of the Phelps-Stocks education commission after the First World War. Members of the commission were influenced by the ideas of Booker. T. Washington, whose Tuskegee Institute had been established to provide technical training for the black youth of southern states of America.¹¹⁸ Most of the commission recommendations were designed for teaching industrial education and agriculture as the core basis of colonial education. It was seen to be alienating Africans from their predominantly rural life style instead. Institutions that promoted manual work and taught practical subjects were upheld as a good illustration of African education.¹¹⁹

It was not easy for the missionaries who used to give academic education to introduce a new type of education. The modern missionaries began stressing the need of manual training in African life. In this respect, Canon Rowling, of Uganda noted:

*I have always been a most earnest advocate of practical work for both boys and girls in the schools. If the countries are to be properly developed and the peoples advanced in the scale of civilisation, it seems essential that agricultural and industrial training must be developed to the utmost.*¹²⁰

It seems that missionaries realised the importance of technical education besides the academic one. The two types were complementary in forming a future educated African as another missionary pointed out:

¹¹⁷ E.H. Berman, "American Influence on African education: the role of the Phelps-stokes Fund's education commission", *Comparative Education Review* (1971), pp. 64-73

¹¹⁸ Edwin Hamilton and Kobina Asiedu, "Vocational-Technical Education in Tropical Africa", *Journal of Negro Education* Vol. 56, No. 3 (1987), p. 338

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 346

¹²⁰ T. F. Victor Briton, *op. cit.*, p. 97

*I think that manual work should go hand in hand with intellectual work: neither can be done well without the other, and neither is lasting without the other...Africans must be educated in the best sense of the term, that is with the idea absolutely to the front of developing their character and making them useful citizens of their own country.*¹²¹

This missionary carried on a first-rate boarding school for girls in whom many of the girls were daughters of the leading chiefs; they were all sacrificing some of their time each day in cultivating the school gardens. The CMS focused on training Ugandan women because they played an important role to reinforce the manpower that existed at that time. As clarified by Deborah Gaitskell:

*...the church missionaries society trained female Ugandans to dig in the plantations, to be productive...Another major skill that was taught in the school was sewing. It consisted of training Buganda women to sew clothes so that they might help in the manual production...*¹²²

Missionaries were aware of the necessity of providing Ugandan women with enough manual education. The girls started training in boarding schools in which they spent over two hours each morning digging in the plantation as was the custom of women in Uganda. Training for marriage and motherhood went hand in hand with training for cultivation which had a great share in the curriculum.¹²³

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ronald Oliver and J.D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, England: Penguin Books, 1997, p. 125

¹²³ Holger Bernt Hensen & Michel Twaddle, op. cit., p. 98

The first girls' schools had not been established until the early 1900s. Catholic nuns at Nsambya opened a primary school offering boarding facilities in 1905. Gayaza opened with the enrolment of five daughters of tribal chiefs¹²⁴.

It is curious to note that the early missionary endeavours of educating Ugandan women were legendary; these pioneers' teachers gave birth to subsequent generations of educated women who went further with their education and career. They opened specialized schools to prepare girls to be future wives of kings, chiefs and other influential cadres in the government, to help their husbands to play their role of leaders of the new religious faith.

The first schools for girls in Uganda were established by members of the first group of five women missionaries of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (Edith Markham Furley, Eleanor Willows Browne, Jane Chadwick, Eliza Pilgrim, and Marry Susannah Thomsett) who came to Uganda in 1895. The first girls' school, Namirembe Girls' school, was established in 1898 by a British missionary woman. The number of girls enrolled increased from 265 girls in 1898 to 1,488 girls in 1906. By 1902, twelve women missionaries were teaching girls in various church centres reading, writing, arithmetic Christian faith, knitting, sewing, and mat making.¹²⁵

Early missionaries were interested in developing Ugandan women's life and making them active in church related women's groups like the Mothers Union, which was set up at King's College in 1908 for the wives of male students at Budo. Later, women were participating in various other church bodies.

Catholic sister-hoods also started girls' schools about the same time as the Anglicans, first the Nkokongeru and later at Namagunga, Nsube and Nabbnigo, largely as a result of Mother Kevin's efforts. Mother Kevin served in Uganda from 1903 to 1954 as a Franciscan nun. She founded numerous schools in Uganda, led to a

¹²⁴ C. Helen Sobehart, *Women Leading Education across the Continents*, London: Dequesure University, 2008, p. 10

¹²⁵-Ali Mari Tripp, "A New Look at Colonial Women: British Teachers and Activists in Uganda, 1898-1962", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2004), p. 12

more active involvement in girls' education and women's health than it was found in other territories in Africa.

By 1920 the Church Missionary Society had started girls' boarding schools in Buganda, Toro, Ankole, Busoga, Bunyoro, Kagezi and a teacher training college in Buloba.¹²⁶The fact that missionary women education was given to make better wives of "westernized" African men and to reserve labour force gave rise to a severe criticism of the method by which the colonists imposed Western notions of gender, domesticity, morality and house divisions of labour on African women, without regard of women's own needs.

Others considered women's domesticity as an obstacle; it restricted women and kept them locked in the private sphere far from politics, and passive in ways that they did not challenge high status. However, one cannot generalize this point of view. Ugandan women were given different educational orientations. The period between the two World Wars was marked by women's involvement in the fields of health and politics. They formed religious based groups like the Mothers Union clubs and other organizations.

It is interesting to note that many African men collaborated with the British missionary educators in pressing for female education. Many chiefs, although uneducated, sent their daughters to schools. King Omukana Duhag of Bunyoro Kitara was an enthusiastic supporter of formal education for both boys and girls. Gayaza School was established under the pressure of Ganda chief.

II-Government interventions in the educational field

After the First World War the missionary educational system was disrupted. It became difficult for missionaries to carry on their task alone since both teachers and

¹²⁶-Ibid.

students took up military service. Thus, the educational network became too weak to provide Ugandans with enough English and arithmetic. Until 1920 only a dozen of Ugandans had good command of English¹²⁷. Missionaries tried to save the situation but they could not. Education became then in the hands of colonial government.

In the colonial administration some officials were concerned about providing education for those people who did not want to attend the mission schools, but suggestions to start government schools were argued against effectively by the powerful Bishop Tucker, who was concerned to preserve the missionary monopoly of general education. It became a political goal for the mission to avoid the establishment of a state system of education, and persuade the government to use the missions as educational agencies instead. Within the mission, the possibility of introducing, by colonial law, compulsory education was discussed as early as 1904, but the issue was left unresolved because there were competing denominations within the missions. In addition, the missions feared that such a legal basis of compulsory education would weaken its monopoly and lead to the establishment of secular government schools. The consequence of the unresolved dilemma was an exclusive education system favouring the elite, mainly chiefs' sons.¹²⁸

Between 1910 and 1920, differences arose between the mission and the colonial government over education. A government inspectorate of schools was set up and government took a greater share of the educational responsibility and expenses. However, the government still left the management of the schools to the missions and supported them. In 1917 Governor Wallis wrote: "*The machinery already exists; what is required is strong financial support combined with government inspection and control*"¹²⁹

During the 1920s the missions maintained various high schools and technical schools under European supervision. At the latter the subject taught included

¹²⁷-T. f. Victor Boston, "Education of the Africans", *Journal of the African Society*. Vol.17, No.67, pp. 212-222

¹²⁸ Litte. Meinert, *Hopes in Friction: Schooling, Health and Everyday Life in Uganda*, Kampala, 2006, p. 45

¹²⁹ Governor Wallis, 1917 in a letter marked secret, in Hansen, op. cit., p. 229

carpentry, masonry, brick-making, sewing...etc. The attendance within these schools differed from one mission to another in gender and in number as it is clarified in table 2. Boys attended missionary schools more than girls. The highest number of attendance was in the CMS schools in comparison with the other Ugandan children attended Village schools more than Secondary and industrial schools which means that missionaries did not encourage Africans to carry on higher education.

Table 2: Attendance of Ugandan pupils in 1920

	Boys	Girls
Church Missionary Society		
Village and High Schools	15,903	10,301
Secondary Schools	475	120
White Father Mission		
Village and High Schools	12,021	8,251
Secondary and Industrial Schools	405	24
Mill Hill Mission		
Village and High Schools	15,049	4,925
Secondary and Industrial Schools	167	47
Verona Mission		
Village Schools	11,374	450
Industrial Schools	119	–
	55,513	24,118

Source: Annual Reports on the Protectorate of Uganda for 1920, NO 1112. UNESCO Contract N010414555, Nairobi, Kenya, 1996

In other words, the government supported the mission educational monopoly during these years. However, due to the pressure especially from the Young Buganda Association (mainly educated young Buganda men) and due to the change of attitude among government officials, the mission educational monopoly slowly started to erode. A non-sectarian education system was started. The argument was as Governor Carter pointed out:

Boys coming out of the schools lacked training for any real professional work and young people were leaving school with considerable disrespect for manual labour, and they therefore formed an element of discontent and unrest in the tribe¹³⁰

A division of labour developed in the education system: government ran higher levels of education and the mission ran the lower levels. This marked the beginning of a separation of religious and educational work which was new in Uganda.

In the first phase of colonization (1900-1919), the colonial government relied mainly upon the educational work of voluntary agencies led by missions. Its educational work generally took the form of grants-in aid to some of the agencies, and rarely did the government directly establish and support educational institutions. One reason why the Uganda Protectorate Government left the duty of education to the Missionaries was that it was preoccupied in establishing its administration and quelling opposition to it from various rulers. For example, Chief Awich of Payera in Acholi resisted the British administration from 1904 to 1912. There were also several resistances in Ankole, Busoga, Lango and Bukedi. The quelling of these resistances occupied much time of the British colonial administration during the initial period of

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 232

the Protectorate. Besides, the Uganda Protectorate Government¹³¹ did not have much money from taxes at the beginning. It only began to have a sizeable amount of money from taxes from 1915. Any money collected was devoted to the running of administration and education and other social services.¹³² This fact was clarified by the scholar Altbach:

*Colonial administrators were not very committed to education since the reason for colonialism was exploitation and not uplift of indigenous population. Educational planning evolved as the needs of colonizers for lower-level bureaucrats grew and missionary work turned to education.*¹³³

To understand the diverse pattern of educational development that characterized Britain's former colonial empire it is necessary to understand the general principles that traditionally guided English education both at home and abroad

Unlike the French, the English had never adopted a national philosophy of education. They had long upheld the primacy of voluntary bodies, especially religious bodies, to establish and maintain schools, and looked with doubt in the nineteenth century at the state educational monopolies established in France based on highly centralized and uniform structures, preferring instead, the adoption of a diverse and mainly localized provision for schooling. What amounted to an essentially *laissez-faire* approach, supported where appropriate by government financial 'grants-in-aid' in support of school buildings and teachers' salaries, was thought to encourage diversity and experimentation. The English had also long believed in the right of parents to choose the type of education they wanted for their children, a practice

¹³¹ The British Protectorate of Uganda was a protectorate of the British Empire from 1894 to 1962. In 1893 the Imperial British East Africa Company transferred its administration right of territory consisting mainly of Buganda Kingdom to the British Government. [Wikipedia.org/wiki/Uganda-protectorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uganda-protectorate)/28.03.2014

¹³² J. C. Ssekamwa, op.cit., p. 47

¹³³ John Rhody, *Amid choos' Preserving Order: The Survival of Schools in Uganda, 1971-1986*, United States: Berghahn Books, 2000, p. 34

which has traditionally promoted a wide variety of schools based on social class or parental ability to pay fees.¹³⁴

The British colonial empire was run on the basis of largely autonomous, self-sufficient territories whose destiny lay principally in the hands of individual governors and their administrative officers. The Colonial Office exercised a general oversight over the forty or so far flung territories but there was never any wish in Whitehall to generate a uniform or standardized approach to everyday colonial administration and development.

In Uganda, the colonial government failed to conduct many of the educational development projects during the first phase of colonization. The treasury's funds cut off interrupted the governor's technical training scheme. The colonial government program was dropped at the beginning of this phase, forcing the officials once again to depend on missionary endeavours for training future government workers. It exerted influence just by means of financial aids and scholarships. One hundred and fifty pounds was given to help to establish school for chiefs' sons in Busoga.¹³⁵

Specific government departments offered training through official support of missionary technical schools and, on a smaller scale; some of the administration's labour needs for artisans were achieved. By 1910 almost all the masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths employed by the public works department were Africans replacing the expensive Indian artisans. Some Buganda were even being trained as drivers for the motor vehicles which were coming into more frequent use in the protectorate.¹³⁶ The pre-war inadequacy of the educational activities in Uganda as one of the British African dependencies was demonstrated in the series of documents on education on crown colonies published by the Board of education in 1925 on the recommendation of the first imperial education conference held four years before.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Stafford Kay and Bradley Nystrom, op. cit., p. 247

¹³⁵ Thomas Fuller, "African Labour in Uganda Colonial Economy", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 10, NO. 1 (1977), p. 92

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁷ T. Walter, "The Educational Renaissance in British Tropical Africa", *The Journal of Negro Education* (1934), Vol. 3, NO. 1, pp. 10-108

It is important to note that the Colonial Office and the British government did not do much to control, direct, or provide education for Ugandans till after the First World War. Then the government education was a post-war phenomenon .In this respect, Ormsby Gore stated at the British Commonwealth Education Conference of 1931:”Government direction and control of education is a post war phenomenon in tropical Africa”¹³⁸ This means that no basic strategy had been made to guide educational endeavours up to this time.

This era began with new events that affected the educational field. Actually, the First World War and its aftermath awakened the colonial government to pay more attention to the different territories under colonial rule. The Europeans gave up minimizing the African mental capacity and started to see them with a new vision.

Due to the new partition of Africa, the British took the Mandates to control the exercise of power from Germany in 1919 and started to use the League of Nations¹³⁹ ideas about Mandates to judge their own colonial possessions. In other words, Britain adopted the idea of trusteeship as an effective way to prove to the international community that its principal role was indeed nothing but that of trustee i.e. the moral advancement of the native population.

Promoting the educational field was an important arm to demonstrate that British rule in Uganda as in elsewhere was humane, concerned and paternal. And to prove its good intention, the government established committees and commissions to discuss serious educational problems.

The great need for a competent manpower to help to construct roads and railways and to successfully promote trade and the production of cash crops for export from

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ League of Nations: A world organisation established in 1920 to promote international cooperation and peace. It was first proposed in 1918 by President Woodrow Wilson, although the United States never joined the League. [www. the free dictionary.com/League of Nation/22.10.2012](http://www.the-free-dictionary.com/League-of-Nation/22.10.2012)

one hand and the lack of teachers' assistants, catechists from the other hand made the government feel the deficiency of the personnel needed to handle the complexities of governance. It became necessary for the government to apply a new educational strategy to suit this situation and to achieve a good performance colonial government opened opportunities for manual-technical training of new skills.

It became the government duty to solve the educational problems, what gave birth to a movement for educational reforms. In 1918, it was declared in the British White Paper on African education policy:

*It has been placed larger revenues at the disposal of the Administrations and on the other hand of the fuller recognition that the controlling power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population, the governments of these territories are taking an increasing interest and participation in native education, which up to recent years has been largely left to the mission societies.*¹⁴⁰

During the 1920s the Colonial Protectorate Government of Uganda started to give more and more concern to the educational field for several reasons. According to the British colonial philosophy of trusteeship¹⁴¹, it was the British responsibility to utilize all its agencies of which education was the key factor to raise the African in the scale of civilisation. According to Sir Hilton Yong:

For any government which accepts the advancement of the native as a direct responsibility, native education must be a matter of primary

¹⁴⁰ T. Walter. Wallbank, op. cit., p. 109

¹⁴¹ The principle of trusteeship consisted in protecting and developing the dominated subjects until "they can stand on their own feet in the arduous conditions of the modern world". It had been proclaimed at the Berlin and Brussels Conferences (1885 and 1890). It was later embodied in article 22 of the League of Nations. This principle was often used to justify colonial domination which according to Lugard, aimed at protecting and improving the subjected natives. R. Oliver and J.D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, Penguin African Library, 1975, p. 132

*concern....the advancement of the natives is an end in itself and that the progress and prosperity of the eastern and central Africa territories must depend on the growth of capacity and intelligence of the whole population.*¹⁴²

An important attempt was applied in September 1919. The Governor of Uganda, Robert Coryndon, set up an education committee to discuss without delay the part government should play in education. In September 1920 the Governor obtained the approval of the Secretary State, Winston Churchill, to open a native technical school in Kampala. A board was appointed to find a suitable site out of the two sites of Bombo and Makerere. The latter was chosen because of its proximity to Kampala, the centre of dominant Buganda culture. Construction work started in March 1921 and in January 1922 classes in school were opened with fourteen day boys who enrolled for courses in carpentry, building and mechanics.¹⁴³

The name of the school was altered to Makerere College in August 1922, according to the principal, H.O. Saville, “the term technical is not broad enough to include all the vocational training it was designed to be given”. Initially the institution gained a good reputation, it was deemed as a higher learning institution. Saville introduced a wide concept of vocational education.¹⁴⁴

Each time Makerere College was submitting to changes due to one manifestation of the post-war African political awakening in a memorandum submitted by the Young Buganda Association (YBA) in 1921. Among several demands, it called for a government education department, secularized education and scholarships for Africans to study abroad. Coryndon was urged to deal with the situation to avoid losing his good relations with the Buganda tribe. Although he tried to promote the existing facilities, mainly to feed the Buganda hunger for higher education.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² F. D. Lugard, *The dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London: W. Black Wood and Sons, 2nd Edition, 1929, p. 606

¹⁴³ Apollos Okwuchi Nwarewa, *Imperialism, Academy, and Nationalism*, 1997, p. 34

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ A. Nizar Motani, “Makerere College 1922-1940: A Study in Colonial Rule and Educational Retardation”, *Journal of African Affairs*, Vol. 13 No. 3 ,pp.360-363

The colonial government never encouraged the Buganda to carry on their higher education outside Uganda because it feared that they would be influenced by Negro educational bodies such as the Tuskegee College and the Universal Negro Improvement Association in North America.¹⁴⁶ Then, they would resist the colonial power and would protest against the bad social and economic situation they lived in. Governors and colonial officials preferred to make them study in Britain and be placed under the Colonial Students' Scheme at Makerere. As a result Ezechiel, the Director of Colonial Scholars, took the Ugandan students under his control. In his opinion, the students should be encouraged to learn medicine or engineering rather than law or general arts to prevent any kind of political influence and in the same time to serve in promoting the development of the protectorate.¹⁴⁷

During this period, the Protectorate Government appointed commissioned groups of educationists to review the education situation in Uganda and make recommendations among them the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Earl de la War Committee. The British disliked any criticism concerning official neglect of the welfare of colonial people. And shortly after the publication of the report of the commission in 1922, the government started moving towards more affective educational policy for its African subjects.

The government educational changes started to take a new direction with foreign intervention. The American Education Commission on Africa, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stocks Fund, visited Africa to survey the education of the African people in general. This was followed by the government appointment of "an Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa" in March 1923, under the chairmanship of Ormsby Gore. The Secretary of State accepted a memorandum submitted by the committee. It was suggested that an educational policy should be adopted by the government. The focus was, then, on the responsibility of the

¹⁴⁶ The Universal Improvement Negro Association (UNIA) represents the largest mass movement in African-American history. Proclaiming a black nationalism (back to Africa), Marcus Garvey and the UNA established seven hundred branches in thirty eight states by the early 1920/www.nationalhumanitycenter.org/sterve/twenty/tkeyinfo/garvey.htm09/04/2014

¹⁴⁷ K. Nausuzi, *Makerere University in Transition*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2003, p. 103

government as a trustee for the moral advancement of the native population.¹⁴⁸ It was clear that the government should formulate the broad principles and methods of Native education.

This Advisory Committee adopted particular measures to solve the educational problems of its colonies. According to it, the structure of education was to be based on the activities of voluntary agencies and the general direction of policy was to be monitored by the respective colonial government. Schools were to be adapted to native life and had to be supervised by colonial governments. African local languages had to be used in education, particularly in the lower forms. Technical vocational and agricultural training should take precedence over more “traditional” subjects; and educational facilities for girls and women should be expanded.¹⁴⁹

The Phelps-Stocks Foundation of the United States sent out a commission to survey the nature and quality of education in East Africa in 1923. The report of the commission criticized severely the British educational policy in east Africa. The commission observed that the colonial government transplanted blindly the British system of education with no visible adaptation to the African real life. When the Phelps-Stokes visited Uganda in 1924, it found out that the education offered by the missionaries was too literary. The educational activities in the schools were not related to the community needs of the people. Among the essential components missing from the curriculum were agriculture, health science, hygiene care of children by women. The commission also found out that the inspection of schools was inadequate. The missionary inspectors were mainly concerned with finding out whether the pupils were ready for baptism and confirmation. The commission attributed the weakness to the lack of government involvement in education.¹⁵⁰

As a result of successive events of the Phelps-Stocks, the demands of colonial service criticism of East African administrations over the narrow educational

¹⁴⁸ Lord Lugard, “Education and Race Relations“, *Journal of Royal African Society*, Vol. 3, NO. 12 (Jan 1933), pp.1-11

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Department of Education - Report by the Education Secretary of the African Inland Mission, 1925 Annual Report, Uganda Protectorate Government Printer, Entebbe, 1926, p. 16

philosophy of the missions, and the appointment of the Advisory committee, colonial government started seriously to discuss the question of higher education for Africans.

Several moves were initiated by the colonial government toward vocational training of Africans for colonial service. These endeavours were accelerated thanks to the Phelps-Stocks visit. After 1923 most colonial governments began to recognize the need for Africans to fill the intermediate positions in the colonial service. In describing the East African situation, as exemplified by Uganda, John Cameron notes that:

Just before World War I and especially just after it, government interest in education increased not so much because of its own needs for more educated and trained men and women-supervisors, clerks, store men, hospital orderlies, nurses, dispensers, drivers, and artisans of many kinds.¹⁵¹

Consequently, the British colonial government in Uganda started to review its policy on education, especially when missionaries still focusing on academic education while the practical side of education was neglected. This situation was considered as crucial for the economic development. The missionaries' monopoly of education was broken when their inability to cope with the rising demand for schooling grew. The government assumed its direct control of education in 1924 in Uganda and established its first department of education.¹⁵²

The appointment of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa (ACNETA) was deemed as a turning point in the evolution of the British educational policy in Africa. In less than two years, the committee produced a memorandum which constituted a brief and definitive statement of British policy and which was published as a white paper in 1925. In the ACNETA's view, the time was opportune for some public statement of principles and policy which would prove a

¹⁵¹ Apollos Okwuchi, op. cit., p. 36

¹⁵² K. Frederick Uhangabyar, *Student Power in Africa's Higher Education: A Case of Makerere University*, London: Routledge, 2006, p. 106

useful guide to all those who engaged, directly or indirectly in the advancement of native education in Africa.

The educational philosophy outlined by the ACNETA in its memorandum acknowledged that the results of education in Africa had not been altogether satisfactory either to Africans or colonial administrators. In the British official's point of view, colonial education conducted by the missions had not succeeded to create the type of Africans who could be reconciled to the indirect rule system. The memorandum focused on the need for adaptation:

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupation and traditions of various people concerning as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution....education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community.¹⁵³

The colonial administration realized that Western education under indirect rule had disruptive effects. According to the memorandum, the type of Western education imparted to Africans “tends to weaken tribal authority and sanctions existing beliefs...Thus character training as emphasized by the committee was meant to be as a necessary safeguard against the disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority”¹⁵⁴.The aim of education then redefined the colonial theory and practice of indirect rule. This was embodied in training those who were needed to fill junior positions in the colonial service.

By the 1920s government educators were urged to meet regularly to draw up effective and common policies for school organization, language and curricula. This was due to the pressure implied by the Phelps Stokes committee and the Colonial

¹⁵³ K. Frederick Uhangabyar, op.cit., p. 107

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

Office White Paper on education. For them it was necessary to focus on balanced curriculum. The previous curriculum was severely criticized by the Phelps-Stocks Commission in the following terms:

*The missionaries have failed to relate their educational activities to the community needs of the people. The type of education has been too exclusively literary. In a country with unusually fertile soil they have made practically no provision for agricultural education.*¹⁵⁵

From the above criticism we conclude that the new curriculum would stress more practical education based on technical and agricultural skills and less literary education for office employment purposes. For both of the Colonial Office and Uganda protectorate government, agricultural education which was considered as adaptive education would benefit the greatest number of people in Uganda.

Missionary education was characterized by self-reliance i.e. missionaries' schools were set up without the help from the government and their efficiency depended on the resources and initiatives of each mission. In addition to the Baganda, the Kagera boys showed a great enthusiasm for learning, and very quickly became efficient in elementary first aid, nursing and stretcher-drill¹⁵⁶. Various Uganda Medical Service officers offered courses of general medical training under the supervision of General Marshal.¹⁵⁷

The educational policy differed from mission to another in training, employing and dismissing teachers. Each mission had its curriculum and determined what would be examined. The result was clearly one of unbalanced education development.

¹⁵⁵ J. C. Ssekamwa, op.cit., p. 60

¹⁵⁶ Stretcher Drill: producing basket designed to be used where there are obstacles to movement or other hazard, for example, in confined spaces, on slopes, in wooded train. It is used in search and rescue operations. www.wikipedia.org/litter-rescue-basket.07.04.2014

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

Missionaries' weakness after the First World War due to the lack of funds and the government intervention in the educational field did not mean that they failed. On the contrary, their work was well appreciated. Some scholars spoke of a work of fine quality done by both Anglicans and Protestants as Loram pointed out:

*The earlier missionaries were not teachers but high minded self-sacrifice evangelists, whose primary object was to enable the natives to read and understand the bible*¹⁵⁸

The Missionary educational efforts were also praised by the Phelps-Stokes Commission in its 1925 Report as follows:

*The Missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, who have played so large a part in the history of Uganda, have up to the present had practically the whole education of the country in their hands. With the exception of some recently erected government buildings at Makerere near Kampala, and of some centres where assistant medical workers are trained, all the school buildings and teaching staff belong to the missions. An educational system which branches out the whole protectorate.....it is an educational achievement of which missions can legitimately be proud.*¹⁵⁹

Some observers believe that the missionaries did great good in Africa, providing big social services. They spread faith in Jesus and baptized many converts. Among African religious beliefs, culture and traditions they despised and demoralized, there were twins' murders and human sacrifices. They fought slave trade which was later abolished and encouraged equality and liberty for all. They improved communication and transport which in turn led to the opening up of Africa's hinterland. However, others saw that Missionaries' education was full with deliberate attempts to denigrate traditional African values, which were characterised as barbaric, heathen, and savage. The negative description of traditional values tended to make Africans feel ashamed of their identities. On the other hand, the curricula defined western values as constituting

¹⁵⁸ Philip Turner, op. cit

¹⁵⁹-J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 50

civilization. This system tended to encourage Africans to identify with the values of the imperial power, which contributed to the creation of African Anglophile elites. It must be remembered that in order to obtain any gainful employment in the colonial system, an African had to demonstrate not simply rote knowledge of the Bible, but also a sense of loyalty to the colonial order, and thus, a western system of values.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰-G. H. Jones, *op.cit.*, p. 191

CHAPTER THREE

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION

IN UGANDA (1924-1939)

It is interesting to note that the British educational policy in Uganda as in all tropical Africa was fed from two opposing schools of thought. The older one is that of assimilation by which "the subject race should accept as a model the standards and the educational methods of his civilized leader".¹⁶¹ The latter alternative may be described as educating the Africans by giving them high standards by a process of adaptation¹⁶² and gradual transformation with regard to their way of life and mentality.¹⁶³ In the light of what has been said, what did the Colonial Protectorate Government bring as educational changes?

I-Changes Introduced in Education

In 1924, the government established the Department of Education in order to coordinate and provide financial support to the churches' educational activities while increasing state control over education.¹⁶⁴ The government supported the missions' work while seeking to change the focus of education provision. It encouraged primary schools to emphasize technical training

¹⁶¹ Stafford Kay and Bradley Nystrom, *Education and Colonialism in Africa: An Annotated Bibliography*, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 15, No. 2(July 1917), p. 239

¹⁶² Adaptation of Western education for Africans has been given different meanings. To the Phelps Stokes commission, it implied on education similar to that received by Negroes in the American south while to some educators it meant a sound principle of initially relating education to what was familiar to the child. Those with a Rousseau-like view of Africans interpreted it to mean preserving the past. Stafford Kay and Bradley Nystrom, *op.cit.*, p.240

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* P. 241

¹⁶⁴ R. H. Walker, "A History of education in Uganda", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 16, NO. 64 (1917), pp. 283-286

over literary education and set up its own technical schools in order to serve its economic interests. The government also strengthened the Advisory Council on Education formed in 1917. This council was charged with the initiation of educational policies which operated in schools.¹⁶⁵

In 1924, Governor Archer (who succeeded Coryndon) of Uganda appointed E.R.J. Hussey, an inspector of schools in Sudan, to report on the educational needs of the protectorate and to make recommendations. The growing demands of the chiefs' sons for higher education pushed the governor to act rapidly. The chiefs were already asking for comfortable arrangement to send their sons to England for higher training. Hence the governor started to plan to change Makerere to a respectable college for the education of those who would carry on their higher training.¹⁶⁶

Since it was agreed that the government should play an affective role in promoting the education of the African, Hussey focused on the need for a wide range of manpower that feed the needs of both colonial and native administration. It seems that Hussey's proposals were designed as a strong reaction to counteract the Phelps-Stocks. In order to raise the level of intermediate schools as it appeared in London universities, he proposed a new scheme by using Makerere as a model.

Hussey focused on the necessity of reshaping the structure of schooling which had been exclusively under missionaries' control. Most of these schools were hundreds of inferior literary Bush schools. Hussey believed that since the prime requirements of the government was to raise the standard of instruction it became necessary to select fifty mission schools for upgrading and building a further six government schools.¹⁶⁷

For Makerere, he recommended the foundation of a department for the provision of preparatory courses in medicine, agriculture, surveying and veterinary science. Hussey's recommendations were favoured by Uganda Advisory Committee on education. They added,

¹⁶⁵ Ronald Hindmarsh, *op. cit.*, p. 145

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁷ J. C. Sseekamwa, *op. cit.*, p. 53

however, that the University department of the college would be developed. These recommendations were favoured to the Colonial Office which, in turn, refined them to the Advisory Committee on Native Education in East Africa (CNETA). Although some members of the CNETA viewed Hussey's proposal as too ambitious and costly, the acting committee finally gave its approval¹⁶⁸.

In this respect the director of education stated in 1925 that he was poised to combat the children's view that education meant learning little English to become clerks in offices. His point of view did not suit the Colonial Office Policy which emphasized that the advancement of the community as a whole would have to be achieved through the improvement of agriculture, native industries and the improvement of health.¹⁶⁹

1) Language Policy and Teachers Training

When the British government took charge of education in Uganda, it brought changes concerning the language policy. These changes followed the outcome of the Phelps-Stokes Commission which was not in any way favouring Kiswahili.¹⁷⁰ However later in the British colonial governors meeting that took place at Mombasa in 1928, it was agreed that the use of Kiswahili be allowed. On his return, Gower who was the colonial governor of Uganda then emphasized the need of teaching Kiswahili as language of workers. Nevertheless, this did not change the status quo of the attitudes of the missionaries and Buganda people.

By the time the Colonial Office declared its policy, the missionaries however, had already begun to work along the lines of what the Colonial Office passed as policy in 1925. They had already learned the languages in Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro, Tooro, Ankole, Bugiso, Teso, West Nile, Acholi, Lango, and the number of languages was increasing as the missionaries were getting into more contacts with other people in Uganda. Besides, they were using such languages as media of instruction and also writing textbooks in them for use at primary school level.

¹⁶⁸ Apollos Okwuchi, *op.cit.*, p. 39

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁰ A. H. Marshad, *op. cit.*, p. 17

Luganda which by government policy had been encouraged to be the official language in Buganda in government business besides English, had tipped the scale because of the large people who were speaking it in Buganda and outside. Since it was spoken in the area where all the protectorate administrative headquarters had been established, many other people besides the Buganda had to be in contact with the language. And since the first African teacher and the British colonial collaborators in terms of chiefs were Buganda, they had helped to spread Luganda outside Buganda, making it a language for both long distance trade and education.

To facilitate the use of language as medium of instruction and for using it in the preparation of textbooks, the Uganda protectorate government appointed a committee to establish a common orthography for that language because pupils attending Roman Catholic Schools spelt it differently from those who were attending CMS schools. Consequently, a common orthography was established to stop confusion. However, this issue of orthography remained unresolved, for none of each Christian group would give up its complicated system of writing Luganda.¹⁷¹

When the Government Department of Education took over the control of education, teachers began to be formally trained and the successful ones were certificated. This certification gave the teachers new confidence because a teacher who disagreed with his employer could change to another school, using his certificate as a proof of his abilities. Lugumba and Ssekamwa described the advantages brought by the certification of Ugandan teachers:

This was the gradual independence of teacher from subordination to the missionaries, because he felt that he could use his certificate to go and teach in other schools if he felt out of a favour with the missionary who was in charge of one school. But the situation was still complicated by the fact that schools were broadly owned by the missionaries. A teacher brought up in the teacher colleges of one group and who also by religion

¹⁷¹ Ibid

*belonged to that denomination would not be easily accepted to teach in the schools of the other group.*¹⁷²

Efforts were at once made to train primary school teachers in agricultural techniques so that they could teach them to pupils in primary schools. A scheme was therefore planned whereby every elementary school teacher attended a short course as part of his/her normal training at Bukalasa and Serere agricultural institutes. In order to develop the new strategy the Director of Education stated in 1929:

*The aim in the primary stage was to give to all primary education an agricultural bias. That bias had to be attempted by the development of the school garden and by making an agricultural course a feature of the training of all teachers of primary schools.*¹⁷³

Both the Colonial Office and the Director of Education Eric Hussey had the spirit of reducing literary education from the system. However, the program put forward by Hussey did not go in the same line with the Phelps-Stocks commission concept. His policy was mainly literary with Makerere College as the desirable apex.

2) Changes concerning Agricultural Education

Agricultural education arrangement in 1925 fell under three headings: the teaching of biology in the class-room accompanied with practical agriculture through the school gardens at primary school level, the training of teachers in agricultural skills at government agricultural institutions and the training of African assistants who were supposed to be employed in the Department of Agriculture.

¹⁷² J.C. Ssekamwa, and S. M. E. Lugumba; *Educational Development and Administration in Uganda 1900-1970*, Kampala: Longmans 1973, p. 57

¹⁷³ Clive Whitehead, op.cit., p. 97

The Uganda protectorate government was supporting the Colonial Office agricultural policies for many reasons. From the beginning the government policy was to develop Uganda for African peasant proprietors. Therefore, there was need to give agricultural education to those Africans who were joining schools to be able to better their skills as peasant agriculturalists and to act as civilizing agents among other Africans in the villages who would not come to attend school.

Secondly, the Uganda protectorate government was engaged in a campaign of raising revenue from cash crops and it felt that agricultural education given to pupils, and agricultural propaganda through extension service given to those people out of school, would turn the inhabitants into more effective growers of cash crops for export to get revenue to run services in the Uganda protectorate. That is why there was cooperation between the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Education. This would also benefit the colonial power at home by getting new materials. Dr S. M. Kiwanuka justified that the economic utility of the colonies was to maximize their resources and to keep the factories in full production capacity in Britain.

Thirdly, at the post primary school level, the government wanted to get some specialist assistants to work in government agricultural institutes and government experimental farms to do all sorts of work: to carry on guided experiments for the government at such places as Bukalasa, Kawanda, Serere, Arapai and Kojja, to mention but few places, to help run short courses for chiefs who would go back into their villages and educate people under them showing them modern ways of planting seeds and pruning plants, how to produce and conserve manure, how to fight against plant pests, how to work against soil erosion and how to harvest crops in the right manner, especially cotton and coffee for the British industries in Britain.

Finally, behind all this there was the reality of the situation. Uganda, not to mention other parts of East Africa, was and still is an agricultural country. Therefore it was the land that necessarily would provide useful and profitable employment to the majority of the people. To teach agriculture in school was only sensible lest the aim of the education system would have been to make those few people who attended schools to be screened off from the livelihood of 95 per cent of the people in Uganda.

The way of life of Ugandan people, which was typically agricultural, did not go in the same line with literary education. When Ugandan children acquired agricultural education, they would join their parents in farms and would preserve their heritage. However, when they acquired literary education, they would totally be separated from their own environment. To emphasize the above point, the Director of Education wrote in 1930:

A policy which tended to give a purely literary education to the mass in order to serve a small minority which may benefit by higher education and qualify for semi-professional careers could, if persisted in, only lead to the creation of a discounted community divorced from its own heredity and environment with no outlet for its energies but political intrigue and the flouting of authority.¹⁷⁴

The year of 1930 marked an important event which was the appointment of a new director of education, instead of Hussey, E. C. Morris who tried seriously to reduce the literary predominance in the education system which had begun with missionaries.

In order to shift from theory to practice, Morris set up a new kind of schools called central schools. These were post primary schools following a practical course for three years focused on both agricultural and technical skills. Nabumali High School, the Verona Father's secondary school at Layibi near Gulu and Mbarara High Schools, were secondary schools with a predominance of agricultural and technical teaching. Nyakasura School was only saved by its headmaster, commander Calwell, who had initiated a practical curriculum from the very beginning combining literary, agricultural and technical skills. Likewise, Buddo College had earlier on begun to include agriculture in its curriculum. With this new drive of the Director of Education, the Headmaster of Buddo even established a full set-up at Namutamba for teaching agriculture to boys who could not cope with the literary curriculum at Buddo.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ R. H. Walker. op. cit., p. 184

¹⁷⁵ J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 61

Unlike the 1920s, the 1930s witnessed a great contribution of schools specialized in practical education at the expense of literary education. Colonial government and colonial educators alike saw that these schools would help Ugandan pupils to better their situation and prepare them for jobs without making them leave their prevailing environment. If the pupils were sons of chiefs who owned their own lands, they automatically would be imparted the kind of education so that they would render their fathers' free-hold land more productive after leaving schools. If they were sons of farmers they would be given agricultural education.

The curriculum of these schools was based on both agricultural and technical skills. Lot of activities in the agricultural side went on in these schools. Some of the graduates of these central schools were expected to join the Department of Agriculture and work in its various sections but the majority of these were supposed to go back to the land and better it and also be an example to so many other people who had not been to school to learn the modern techniques. During the same year of 1930 the Department of Education appointed a superintendent of agriculture.

However, like each time, the theory of 'adaptation' was always being opposed by Ugandan students and their parents from one hand and educationists, who criticized the theory of education for adaptation, from the other hand. The reason behind their rejection was that this theory has been intended to give a black man an inferior kind of education as well as the parents wanted their sons to have the kind of education that permitted them to work in offices not in lands and made them to seem as the 'whites'. Their feeling was that "whatever the white man might say about education, his own wisdom and administrative ability had been learnt from books".¹⁷⁶

Still pursuing the idea of agricultural education in the system, in 1933 the Advisory Council on African Education in Uganda appointed a sub-committee to give views as to the best way agriculture, animal husbandry and technical education would be effectively included in the school curriculum. This sub-committee agreed that the most effective method would be to encourage the cultivation of crops at the village teachers' training centres and that all this would be directed and supervised by officers of the Department of Agriculture. Student teachers from these centres, when posted to primary schools on completion of their courses,

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 62

were expected to develop similar experiments with the aid of their pupils. These school plots were supposed to act as models of sound cultivation to the peasants in the vicinity.¹⁷⁷

During the same year, a review was made of the operation of the agricultural courses in the education system. The director of education was gratified at the end of the year that these agricultural courses were operating well and that the people had begun to accept them. He thus wrote that:

*The emphasis leads on agriculture in the teachers' training courses, and in the elementary schools, were having an excellent effect and that education was becoming gradually associated more and more with rural activities.*¹⁷⁸

But the Director of Education and his supporters in this endeavour had great odds against which they were working to establish this agricultural inclination to education. After being in a high mood at the end of 1933, the following year he had a different story to tell, the force of literary education was almost irresistible. He thus reported at the end of 1934, five years after the establishment of the central schools which included a lot of agricultural education in their curriculum that the system still seemed too academic and left the students, who were unable to continue, stranded with little knowledge of real use to them. The Missionary Education Secretaries agreed with the Director of Education, especially because the central schools with their vague curriculum offered little attraction to pupils leaving lower schools.

After the inter-territorial Education Conference of 1933, the government was urged to focus on the agricultural type of education. The curriculum was given in local vernaculars. This step of using tribal languages in elementary schools to teach African people was a central focus of adapted education.¹⁷⁹ The Colonial Office was the source of policies on language and the medium of instruction. In its policy, the Colonial Office in London stated that the study of the educational use of the vernaculars was of primary importance and that scholars should be aided by both government and missionaries in the preparation of vernacular text-books. That

¹⁷⁷ K. Frederick Uhangabyar, op. cit., p. 110

¹⁷⁸ J.C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 60

¹⁷⁹ Timothy Parsons, op.cit., p. 128

policy also stated that English should be taught in the top classes of the primary schools so that in post primary classes, students should have a fair knowledge of English to benefit by instruction through that language.¹⁸⁰

In his 1935 Education Report, the Director of Education lamented in the same way as the CMS Education Secretary had done that “the central schools for the most part continued to disappoint because the teachers had failed to assimilate the ideals and aims of the syllabus”¹⁸¹. But the crux of the matter was that the Department of Education established these Central Schools without having first taken steps to train teachers who would run them with the skills that were needed. Consequently, the policy could not be implemented. During the term of office of Sir Philip Michelle, the educational policy was not for stressing practical education but literary education.

However, the primary school curriculum never dropped its agricultural lessons through the school gardens and nature. The conditions for qualified teachers to attend for a year at the agricultural institutions of Bukalasa, Arapai and Serere were however waved because it was costly.

The Colonial Office in London still as the source of policy on agricultural education continued to play its role. The de la War Commission which it sent to East Africa in 1937 to recommend the upgrading of the education system gave new guidelines for the Uganda protectorate government to follow in strengthening agricultural teaching in primary schools. That commission recommended three important guide lines.¹⁸² As regarding teaching generally, agriculture should be the core around which all other subjects should revolve. The second important guideline regarding primary schools, the commission recommended that each primary school should be situated near a government experimental or training farm and such a primary school should have its own gardens and some animals attached to it. Thirdly, the commission recommended that textbooks should be rural in outlook, containing stories about plants, animals, farmers.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

¹⁸¹ J. S. Ssekamwa, op.cit., p. 67

¹⁸² J.C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 63

¹⁸³ Ibid

To emphasize this agricultural bias, the Commission went on even to recommend the Uganda protectorate government that the payment of grants to primary schools should be conditional upon the provision of facilities for gardening, rural handicrafts, teachers and text books suitable for an integrally rural curriculum.

However, it was difficult to put into practice the approach without the textbooks and the teachers trained in that kind of work. Textbooks used to be imported from industrial Britain and teachers had been academically trained. Again what continued to be practised was agriculture on the primary school gardens as of old lessons called Nature Study. The whole thing looked academic.

It is important to note that there were three directions along which the need for advance was urgent, namely: the development of higher education of a University standing (and the establishment of centres for research at the projected University schools), the increasing facilities for secondary education which would open for a great number of Africans the doors to University studies, and, lastly, an increase in the numbers of some kind of rudimentary schools for the people as a whole, which will help to spread the basic tools of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

II- The Relationship between Missionaries and Government:

A recurrent question in the literature on the impact of missionary penetration in Africa was that of the relationship between missions and the colonial state. A large body of literature sees missions and colonial governments as bedfellows, sharing important aims, and co-operating in their own respective interests. Another interpretation maintains that Christian missions, their teachings of equality, their resistance to oppressive colonial policies, and the educational opportunities they provided, mitigated colonial domination and furthered incipient African nationalism.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ C. Pulford, op. cit., p. 57

In African nationalist writings, missions have generally been seen as operating "on the wrong side": their connection to the European powers implied that missions induced submission to European control. Ayandele, for example, points out that in many cases missionaries were, quite literally, "path finder's" for colonial governments, more or less paving the way for European exploitation. Welbourn followed the same line of thought, claiming that missionaries facilitated colonial administration by pioneering education, medical care and so on.¹⁸⁵

1) Complementary Relationship

While the state did not establish or control schools itself, it appreciated the good results obtained in the schools of the Church Missionary Society, the White Fathers, and the Mill Hill Mission. Hayes Sadler expressed his appreciation on the harmonious cooperation between government and missions which reflected the common goal of the moral and material development of the people among whom they were working.¹⁸⁶ Statistics endorse Sadler's opinion. Between 1903 and 1906 the Church Missionary Society increased its schools from 42 to 45 thanks to governmental grant. To elevate governmental schools, the state gave 100 pounds for scholarship as grants in aid to mission schools.¹⁸⁷

The first government financial aid was given to the Church Missionary Society in 1907 when it was granted 100 pounds. Whereas the Mill Hill Fathers and the white fathers were given nothing for their educational work that year. In 1909, the Uganda protectorate government gave 150 pounds to King's college Buddo, 300 pounds to the White Fathers schools and 100 pounds to the schools run by the Mill Hill Fathers¹⁸⁸. The financial grants were increasing year by year due to the increasing request by missionaries. This situation urged missionaries to keep a good relationship with the government to preserve its interests.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

¹⁸⁶ Hayes Sadler, General Report for the Year Ending march 31,1904, Parliamentary Papers, Uganda 1905, p. 16

¹⁸⁷ Hayes Sadler, op. cit., p. 18

¹⁸⁸ -J. C. Ssekamwa, op.cit, p. 48

Even if these grants were not enough for missionaries' educational efforts, they came after a real government appreciation. The missionaries played an important role in assisting the government to get clerks and interpreters. Thus Sir Hesketh Bell who was governor of Uganda between 1905 and 1910 wrote as follows:

*Due to the admirable efforts of the missionary societies, the administration had been relieved of making the provision for education which in any other dependency would have been a serious call upon the government's finances*¹⁸⁹

The era of 1910-1920 witnessed several educational changes concerning both colonial government and missionaries. A Government Inspectorate of schools was established and the government shared a greater educational responsibility. However the government still left the management of schools to the missions which were considered as a kind of support. In this respect, Governor Wallis wrote in 1917 "The machinery already exists; what is required is strong financial support combined with government inspection and control".¹⁹⁰

During this period, missionaries became aware of the problems that threatened their educational position. The financial problems from one hand and the inability of meeting the natives' educational needs from the other hand made it necessary for the missions to beg more grants in aid. The missions created an Advisory Committee in 1924 to establish a partnership with the colonial government. The Advisory Committee made it easy for the missions to be an official partner with the state especially when it gained a formal recognition to elevate the educational field. This committee received financial assistance towards both the capital and recurrent costs of running schools.¹⁹¹

The success of the missions' strategy of partnership was clear in the first major statements of the educational policy in British Tropical Africa issued by the Advisory Committee and

¹⁸⁹ - C. Pulford, op.cit., p. 60

¹⁹⁰ -Litte Meinert, op.cit., p. 45

¹⁹¹-Department of Education - Report by the Education Secretary of the African Inland Mission, 1925 Annual Report, Uganda Protectorate Government Printer, Entebbe, (1926), p. 16

published as a government White Paper in March 1925. In spite of their success, missionaries lost a measure of their power when they became dependent on government grants- in –aid. There was a price to pay for a policy of co-operation with government. They recognized that they had little choice in the matter.¹⁹²

When the government first set up a Department of Education its director, Eric Hussey, and his officers worked hand in hand with the missionaries. The new department could not work without the help of the missionaries who used to run the old schools and even continued to open new schools by raising money locally like fees paid by Ugandan parents.¹⁹³ The Advisory Council¹⁹⁴ whose majority of representatives were from missionaries, was greatly strengthened by the government. This reflects the good intention of the government to co-operate with the missionaries and to protect their common interest.

Therefore, the government did not undertake the responsibility of conducting the educational field for the sake of driving away the missionaries from schools. On the contrary, its primary aim was to use all the potentialities that existed in order to develop the educational field. Thus, the government made common syllabi and examination regulations and the certifications of candidates, by supervising all the educational system and by funding education.

Since there were three different religious factions in Uganda, the CMS Missionaries and the Mill Hill Fathers who were British, were following the British education system and curriculum in their schools. The white Fathers, who were French, were following the French education system and curriculum in their schools, the Verona Fathers, who were Italians, were following the Italian education system and curriculum in their schools, the Department of Education tried to integrate all the categories by setting out a syllable based on the British education system so that all the schools had similar systems.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² -Louise Pirouet, “Missionaries and Government“, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 27, No.1(1986), p. 184

¹⁹³ J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 52

¹⁹⁴ The advisory council on education formed in 1917, it was charged with the initiation of educational policies which operated in schools.

¹⁹⁵ J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 55

Missionary groups used to have a practical involvement in the colonial government educational strategy guided by the concepts of “trusteeship” and “adaptation”, in particular the endeavour of Dr Joseph Houlds Worth Oldham, the secretary of the conference of protestant missionary societies in Great Britain. Oldham was a trusted advisor of the British government in religious matters between 1920 and 1930. He had a lifelong interest in the educational development of Africans and perceived “the need for broader missionary perspectives and closer co-operation between missions and state if African interests were to be served in the modern world”. Through Oldham, the promotion of education in Africa was greatly expanded by the British government.¹⁹⁶

Oldham supported the finding of the Phelps-Stocks and with the backing of already established African missionary organizations; he was able to influence the direction of government educational policy. In 1923 Oldham organized the Derby Day Meeting between members of the government, industry and missionary organizations. The outcome of this meeting was the creation of the Colonial Advisory Committee (CAC), whose role was to frame educational policy in Africa; Oldham maintained a strong influence over the three groups involved in the CAC: the government, industry and missionary organizations, until his resignation in 1934. He was able to ensure that missionary organizations retained the largest influence over educational developments in Africa.¹⁹⁷

The missionaries who were responsible for running schools were solidly behind the director of education in this move and they were suggesting ways and means of bettering their approach. Records in missionary schools speak eloquently on the missionaries’ efforts to inculcate agricultural values in their pupils along the lines which the Department of Education set up. In this respect, the Verona Fathers’ efforts in Gulo and in Lira at Ngetta, the CMS efforts in Nyakasora, Buddo, Namutamba, Ngora, Nabomali and Gyaza, and the Mill Hill Fathers’ efforts at Nkokonjeru, Nazigo, Naggalama and Nagongera came out prominently in support of government agricultural education policy.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ C. Pulford, *op. cit.*, p.67

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁹⁸ J. C. Ssekamwa, *op. cit.*, p. 71

By 1930, there were farm agricultural schools belonging to each of the following schools: The CMS Farm school was in Numutamba, while that of the Verona Fathers was in Gulu at Layibi and the government through the legislative council asked them to pay a yearly grant to each one of 800 pounds from 1933. After three years the government included them into the normal grants-in-aid system. Every mission station was a farm, especially in the Roman Catholic Mission. These were extensively cultivated estates kept up by the pupils under the direction of nuns, lay brothers and priests.¹⁹⁹

The missionary support for the government agricultural education policies sprang from several motives. One was that from the beginning, the missionaries' philosophy was that of keeping a person usefully busy to detract him/her from sin. Agricultural occupation was one of those things that would be used. Secondly, there was an economic aspect, when the pupils were relatively old between their catechism classes and primary six, the missionaries would make them work on large estates to produce food and cash crops. Food produced on these estates would be given to the pupils while the cash obtained from the sales of crops was used to solve a lot of financial problems for the missionaries. They used some of the money to put up new buildings and furnish them and to maintain the old ones, to buy scholastic materials, to support some children of indigent parents at school and sometimes to pay teachers' wages in the numerous sub-grade schools in the villages which were not grant-aided by the government.²⁰⁰

Moreover, the missionaries realized that the majority of pupils attending schools had no chance of being employed in any offices for clerical jobs either in the public sector or in the private sector. So it would have been short sightedness for the missionaries not to support agriculture studies in their schools. If they did not do so, they would be preparing the majority of their disciples for benefits that did not exist in real life. As the Director of Education wrote in his 1930 education report, the alternative would have been to have an increasing number of misfits, who would have gone so far on the road to higher education and yet could have no benefit out of that education in real life.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 73

²⁰⁰ Ibid

²⁰¹ Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 63

2) Disappointment and Conflict

It is important to notice that the period between 1920 and 1930 was characterized by increasing conflicts between missionaries and colonial government over the educational policy. The debate was first of all over the curriculum. The missionaries followed a curriculum in which academic subjects were stressed. Manual-technical education had not enough share to feed the natives' demands, Therefore, the colonial government saw the necessity of reducing academic education and tried to promote schools which emphasized agricultural education.

For the colonial government, manual-technical type of education was important to feed the career needs of the Ugandan students which meant, in fact, the labour needs of the employers.²⁰² This type of education is part of the colonial educational policy based on exploitation.

For the colonial government, stress on academic education caused a great danger on both economic and political concerns. The neglect of manual-technical education contributed to a lack of artisans and shortage of labour, while the focus on the academic education led to the birth of politically aware Ugandan elites who practised pressure upon the colonial state for continued aid to academic oriented schools.²⁰³

In colonial Uganda, the missionaries' emphasis on academic education was the source of conflicts between missions and the colonial state. Academic education led to the creation of an educated Ugandan bourgeoisie that benefited from each denomination dependency and that minimized manual labour and looked down on wage labourers. Consequently, missionary academic education undermined the type of education that was offered by the government.

What made the conflict hotter between the two sides was that the government considered its educational work more important and wider than the missionaries' one. And in order to

²⁰² Jelmert Jorgensen, *Uganda :A Modern History*, London: Croo; Helms, 1981, pp. 164-167

²⁰³ Ibid

apply its strategies, the government started opening up schools and running them side by side with missionaries' schools.

It is interesting to note that the government created a great challenge by providing schools for those who were excluded from the missionaries' schools. For example, the Ugandan people who refused to be converted and the Muslims who did not want to attend mission schools benefited from the government educational policy thanks to some officials in the colonial administration.

It was not enough for the government to open its proper schools; it began also to take over the mission schools and run them. This proposal was suggested first by Eric Hussey. For him, the government should take over some of the Mission Schools called Middle Schools which were junior secondary schools. In his point of view, missionaries became no more capable of providing the suitable know-how and funds to manage such schools.²⁰⁴

The proposal of starting government schools found a strong opposition from most of the missionaries, among them Bishop Tucker who was responsible for preserving missionary monopoly of education and preventing a non-sectarian school system.²⁰⁵ They did not accept the government intention to take over their schools for religious and political reasons.

The missionaries saw that if the government took over their schools this would affect the religious aspect of education. They wanted to transplant in the schools religion more than any other subject in the curriculum. Government control over schools would also weaken their political power by losing the influence on the Ugandan elite. However, the missions wanted the government to run few schools, among them technical schools and Muslim schools so that it would have the influence on a few people in Uganda.

²⁰⁴ J. C. Ssekamwa, *op. cit.*, p. 119

²⁰⁵ Litte, Meinert, *op. cit.*, p. 47

The support of the Ugandan people was a strong arm used by missions to face government participation in the educational field. It was up to the chiefs to choose who would manage the educational field. This is why Eric Hussey tried to gain public support and he even wrote:

*As to which method of expansion would be adopted, the aiding of more mission schools, or establishing of new government schools, the natives themselves would be the ultimate arbiters.*²⁰⁶

The government never gave up developing its strategies in education. Therefore, missionaries feared that the government would go far beyond its limits. Thus the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the Lubaga Diocese under Bishop H. Streicher, a White Father missionary, formed a Board of education in 1924. This Board hand in hand with the C.M.S Board of education formed in 1904 opposed all the implications in the 1927 education ordinance which strengthened the government with respect of missionary educational activities²⁰⁷

It became obvious to the new governor Sir Philip Mitchell who took over the Governorship in 1935 that missionaries had the right to be left free in practicing their educational policies. In this respect he pointed out remembering his service in Uganda:

*At this time (1935-1949), there were aspects of missionary educational practices and policies which seemed to be open to objection. But it is clear that a departmental, secular school system, was not a suitable way of doing what had to be done and equally it is convincing that missionaries had an indispensable contribution to make, for in the case of the people recently converted or in the process of conversion to Christianity, their school must be such as to confirm and strengthen their belief, must in fact be actively Christian schools.*²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 118

²⁰⁷ Ibid

²⁰⁸ J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 121

III-The Response of Ugandan People to Western Education

African response to colonial educational initiatives was examined in relation to the economic and administrative changes of the colonial period. It was argued that colonial educational initiatives prompted a positive response only if they offered an experience of training which was opposite to the economic and administrative realities of the colonial environment. These realities changed from time to time.

Thus, within each defined period, similar educational initiatives might prompt different responses in different places. Eastern Uganda was selected as the area for investigation because it offered material for comparison. At given times in the early colonial period, educational initiatives were similar throughout the region, but economic and administrative realities varied from one place to another. African response also varied from one place to another. Such variations support the idea that the nature of African response to colonial education was related to the economic and administrative realities of their particular colonial situation.²⁰⁹

1) Negative Response to Western Education

In the first years after the missions began their work in the Mbale area of Eastern Uganda, Missions' efforts were frustrated by their unwillingness to see the need to adapt their Buganda-inspired methods to the different conditions of Eastern Uganda. Furthermore, their dependence for support on Kakungulu, their use of Buganda catechists, and their interest in the Buganda community resident in Eastern Uganda, all served to foster a negative identification between the missions and the colonial government. In Teso for example, the profitable cultivation of cotton introduced an economic environment which favoured a positive response to mission schools by both the peasantry and the aristocracy. The missions,

²⁰⁹ Mukhejee, Rmkrishna, *Uganda, A Historical Accident ? Class, Nation, State Formation*, New Jersey: Africa World Press, p. 118

through their church schools, served as protectors of the peasants against communal obligations, and thereby facilitated the mobility of the peasants from their lives as rural cultivators to lives as "urban" consumers. Special schools for sons of chiefs offered an institutionalized way for the aristocracy to perpetuate itself a-negative response towards Western Education.²¹⁰

Not all the Ugandans welcomed the Europeans and went to their schools. Some Ugandans refused to attend European schools, either religious or secular, and still preserved their traditional life style. Others returned to their former religion after they had been converted. As an example, the Muslims and the Bunyoro-Kitara opposed European existence in their country and refused to be converted. For this reason they were excluded even from attending agricultural schools. As a result they suffered from poverty, marginalization and even from terror and oppression. Most of the Bunyoro- Kitara refused Western education because of the clash existing between them and the Buganda that collaborated with their first enemy.

Different factors contributed to turn many of the African people to their old religion; the most important one was economic. The African lay teachers were leaving their posts to trade or to engage in other work where they could get more money²¹¹. In 1905 missionaries noted that many African lay teachers and pastors, especially in the provincial outstations, were deserting the Church. Meanwhile many African chiefs were coming back to polygamy, and the money they previously had offered to uphold the Church was being used “to keep up large households “and to obtain expensive clothing for those women whom they have taken.

In the 1930s both state and missions expressed the idea that the Africans should be given minimum education experience and that this experience should be directly supervised. It was missionary responsibility to forgo the Ugandan culture and impose the European one.

²¹⁰ Mukhejee, Rmkrishna, op. cit., p. 120

²¹¹ Ibid, p. 94

2) Positive Response to Western Education

The success of the Europeans' educational efforts, especially religious education, can be considered as a measure of acceptance on the part of Ugandans. Most of the Ugandan tribes like the Buganda and the Busoga tribes found in religious and agricultural education the opportunity to improve their way of life. Ugandan chiefs, especially the Christian Buganda openly realized the need for younger Ugandans to learn the skills and the techniques the white man offered.

Most of the Ugandan tribes, especially Buganda, did not just accept Western education but they were also excited about it. The Kabaka Mutesa encouraged the new teaching because he wanted his people to learn more so that they could cope with the world changes and developments. In the same time, he supported the new teacher who would help him to gain more control on his kingdom. He also thought that through missionaries he could ask the help of their governments in case of any external invasion or internal conflicts.²¹²

One of the most influential and famous African leaders during the colonial period was Apolo Kagwa Katikiro, in Buganda. He dealt with this issue in an article published in *the local missionary paper*. Kagwa focused on the importance of educating young Buganda "to make them fit for future office for the government. He recognized that the government preferred to appoint educated men to important charges, and he was convinced that the Buganda could fill the position of many Goans and Indians who were employed by the government."²¹³

Kagwa and other chiefs strongly admired the social and economic progress of Great Britain. They visited England and observed many English habits. Yet their ideas represented the feeling of many Buganda who saw advantages to be taken from a chosen and adaptive interrelationship with the British. Hum Mukasa believed that industry and cleverness were not

²¹² J. C. Ssekamwa, op. cit., p. 29

²¹³ Thomas Fuller, "African Labour in Uganda Colonial Economy", *The International Journal of African studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 93

the preserve of the English alone. He advised the Buganda that they had the ability to achieve this wisdom, explaining:

*...let us then go ahead slowly and surely; perhaps our children will be much wiser than we are, but we should encourage our children daily to learn all they can, that they may teach their children after we have gone and so they may go on increasing in wisdom both in mind and in handicrafts.*²¹⁴

Since 1925, the Government started playing an active role of exercising control over education. In the 1920s and 1930s, education was available to only a small group of people, mainly children of the aristocracy, clergy and tribal chiefs.

²¹⁴-Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The European missionaries who came to Uganda did much more than spread Christianity. They as well introduced Western education. Education in general had been a major concern of the missionaries even since their arrival. They emphasized the formation of the whole person in spiritual, moral and intellectual fields. Schools built by missionaries had been a major tool through which the Church carried on its evangelization.

Western education in Uganda (1878-1939) could be said to fall under two broad phases, namely that of education monopoly by Christian missionaries between 1878 and 1924. The first phase was the period of private enterprise predominantly associated with the activities of the Christian missions, who founded, owned, managed the schools, conducted examinations, issued certificates and employed their own products and paid teachers. Truly enough, the missions geared their emerging school system solely towards the creation of a Christian community. In the second phase, the protectorate government assumed overall responsibility for education in the country and the missions were expected to function as government supported agencies. This approach followed the Phelps-Stocks commissions's strong recommendations issued in 1924 favouring a more significant level of state involvement in education. The recommendations came into effect with the establishment of the Department of Education. Consequently, the Department of Education set up the Advisory Council on Native Education comprising representatives of the missions and government agents; schools were geared with care; a grants-in-aid system was systematized; and the former missionary education inspections became formally inspections recognized by the government.

Because of missionaries' endeavours, western education was set up and spread in Uganda. Whatever their aim, both missionaries and colonial power contributed in destructing African heritage and sought to uproot African people from their culture, tradition and customs. In this respect, Tiberondwa pointed out:

....when education enslaves one to foreign values as colonial education has done to the Africans, then that education cannot be regarded as successful

*because instead of providing freedom to Africans, that education has taken African freedom away.*²¹⁵

In the Europeans' point of view, it was the missionaries' duty to introduce Western education in Uganda. The first explorers, whose gateway into the new territory were via the Buganda tribe, whom they were later to use as their colonial agents as British rule was extended. Although the Europeans were impressed by the sophistication of Buganda society, they actually believed that Africans would benefit from exposure to Western standards and practices, and of course from Christianity. To a degree, this allowed them either to justify or even to suppress what now looks to be the crude reality that their underlying agenda was the extension of British influence, the development of British commerce, and the expansion of the British Empire.

²¹⁵-Cedric Pulford, op. cit., p. 176

APPENDIX 1 : Mutesa's Call for Missionary Endeavour

I have, indeed, undermined Islamism so much here that Mtesa has determined henceforth, until he is better informed, to deserve the Christian Sabbath as well as the Muslim Sabbath, and the great captains have unanimously consented to this. He has further caused the Ten Commandments of Moses to be written on a board for his daily perusal - for Mtesa can read Arabic - as well as the Lord's Prayer and the golden commandments of our saviour, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This is great progress for the few days I have remained with him, and, though I am no missionary, I shall begin to think that I might become one if such success is feasible. But oh! That some pious, practical missionary would come here! What a field and harvest ripe for the sickle of civilization! Mtesa would give him anything he desired, houses, lands, cattle, ivory, etc.! He might call a province his own in one day. It is not the mere preacher, however, that is wanted here. The bishops of Great Britain collected, with all the classic youth of Oxford and Cambridge, would effect nothing by mere talk with the intelligent people of Uganda. It is the practical Christian tutor, who can teach people how to become Christians, cure their diseases, construct dwellings, understand and exemplify agriculture, and turn his hand to anything, like a sailor - this is the man who is wanted. Such a one, if he can be found, would become the saviour of Africa. He must be tied to no church or sect; but profess God and His Son and the moral law, and live a blameless Christian, inspired by liberal principles, charity to all men, and devout faith in Heaven. He must belong to no nation in particular, but to the entire white race. Such a man or men, Mtesa, Emperor of Uganda, Usoga, Unyoron, and Karagwe - an empire 360 geographical miles in length, by 50 in breadth - invites to repair to him. He has begged me to tell the white men that, if they will only come to him, he will give them all they want. Now, where in all the pagan world a more promising field for a mission than in Uganda? Colonel Linant de Bellefonds is my witness that I speak the truth, and I know he will corroborate all I say. The colonel, though a Frenchman, is a Calvinist, and has become as ardent a well-wisher for the Waganda as I am. Then why further spend needlessly vast sums upon black pagans of Africa who have no example of their own people becoming Christians before them? I speak to the Universities Mission at Zanzibar and to the Free Methodists of Mombasa, to the leading philanthropists and the pious people of England. Here, gentlemen, is your opportunity - embrace it! The people on the shores of the Nyanza call upon you. Obey your own generous instincts, and listen to them; and I assure you that in one year you will have more converts to Christianity than all other missionaries united can number. The population of Mtesa's kingdom is very dense; I estimate the number of his subjects at 2,000,000. You need not fear to spend money upon such mission, as Mtesa is sole ruler, and will repay its cost tenfold with ivory, coffee, otter skins of a very fine quality, or even in cattle, for the wealth of this country in all these products is immense. The road here is by the Nile, or via Zanzibar, Ugogo, or Unamyembe. The former route, so long as Colonel Gordon governs the countries of the Upper Nile, seems most feasible.

Source : J.F. Faupel, op. cit., pp. 20-212

APPENDIX 2:

TREATY. Great Britain and Uganda. British Protectorate.
27th August, 1894.

Approved by Her Majesty's Government, January 4, 1895.

Treaty between Henry Edward Colville, a Companion of the Most of Honourable Order of the Bath, a Colonel in Her Majesty's army, Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Commissioner for Uganda, for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, &c., her heirs and successors, and Mwanga, King of Uganda, for himself, his heirs, and successors. 27th August, 1894.

1. WHEREAS Her Majesty's Government has sanctioned the Agreement between Mwanga, King of Uganda, and Sir Gerald Herbert Portal, K.C.M.G., C.B., Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for East Africa, made at Kampala on the 29th day of May, 1893.
2. And Whereas Her Britannic Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow on the said Mwanga, King of Uganda, the protection which he requested in that Agreement:
3. I, the said Mwanga, do hereby pledge and bind myself, my heirs, and successors, to the following conditions:—
4. I undertake to make no Treaties or Agreements of any kind whatever with any Europeans of whatever nationality without the consent and approval of Her Majesty's Representative.
5. I freely recognise that so far as I, the King, am concerned, the sole jurisdiction over Europeans and over all persons not born in my dominions, and the settlement of all cases in which any such persons may be a party or parties, lie exclusively in the hands of Her Majesty's Representative.
6. In civil cases between my subjects the Court of Her Majesty's Representative shall be a supreme Court of Appeal, but it shall lie entirely within the discretion of the said Representative to refuse to hear such appeals.
7. In criminal cases where only natives are concerned, it is left to the discretion of Her Majesty's Representative to interfere, in the public interest and for the sake of justice, to the extent and in the manner which he may consider desirable.
8. And I, Mwanga, the King, undertake to see that due effect is given to all and every decision of the Court of Her Majesty's Representative under Articles 6 and 7.
9. I, Mwanga, fully recognise that the protection of Great Britain entails the complete recognition by myself, my Government, and people throughout my Kingdom of Uganda and its dependencies, of all and every international act and obligation to which Great Britain may be a party, as binding upon myself, my successors, and my said Government and people, to such extent and in such manner as may be prescribed by Her Majesty's Government.
10. No war or warlike operations of any kind shall be undertaken without the consent of Her Majesty's representative, whose concurrence shall also be obtained in all serious matters of State, such as the appointment of Chiefs or officials, the political or religious distribution of territory, &c.

11. The assessment and collection of taxes, as also the disposal of the revenues of the country, are hereby made subject to the control and revision of Her Majesty's Government in such manner as they may from time to time direct.
12. The property of Her Majesty's Government and of their officers, and of all servants of Her Majesty's Government, shall be free from the incidence of all taxes.
13. Export and import duties on all goods leaving or entering Uganda and its dependencies shall be leviable by Her Majesty's Government for their sole use and benefit. These duties shall be fixed in accordance with the provisions of the General Acts of Berlin and Brussels of 1885 and 1890 respectively, and of any International Agreements arising from the same, and to which Great Britain is or may become a party.
14. The foreign relations of Uganda and its dependencies are hereby placed unreservedly in the hands of Her Majesty's Representative.
15. Slave trading or slave raiding, or the exportation or importation of people for sale or exchange as slaves, is prohibited. I, Mwanga, also undertake, for myself and my successors, to give due effect to such laws and regulations, having for their object the complete ultimate abolition of the status of slavery in Uganda and its dependencies, as may be dictated by Her Majesty's Government.
16. The present Treaty supersedes all other Agreements or Treaties whatsoever made by Mwanga or his predecessors.
17. This Treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature.

In faith whereof we have respectively signed this Treaty, and have thereupon affixed our seals.

Done in duplicate at Kampala this 27th of August, 1894.

H. E. COLVILE, *Colonel.*
KABAKA, *King.*

Witnesses:

W. T. ANSORGE.
APOLLO, *Katikiro.*
MUGWANYA, *Katikiro.*

Source : E. Hertslet, *Map of Africa by Treaty, Vol.I ; Nos. 1 to 94 : British Colonies*

Protectorates and Possessions in Africa. 3rd edition, (London, Harrison and Sons, 1909), p.396.

APPENDIX 3: Calendar of important events in Uganda's Educational History

1844	Zanzibar traders visited the court of Kabaka Suna.
1862	John Hanning Speke presented the Bible to the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara.
1875	Henry Morton Stanley gave Bible lessons to Kabaka Muteesa.
1877	CMS missionaries arrived in Buganda.
1879	White Fathers missionaries arrived in Buganda.
1894 19 June	a British protectorate was formally proclaimed over Uganda.
1902	Namilyango School was founded for Anglicans
1905	Gayaza High School was founded for daughters of leading Protestants
1905	Kings' College, Buddo, was founded for the sons of the Protestant chiefs and Buganda royal Families.
1906	St Mary's College, Kisubi, was founded for sons of devoted Buganda Catholics and Goans
1912	Toro Girls High School (kyebambe) was founded for the daughters of Toro Protestant Chiefs.
1921	St Leo's College was founded for Catholic boys in Toro.
1922	Makerere College was founded as Technical College.
1924	Phelps-Stocks Commission Report.
1925	British White Paper on Education in Tropical Africa
1927	Education Ordinance-Government registers classified education institutions and controlled general direction of education

Source: Ssekamwa, John, Crisostom, *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1

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ABSTRACT

The topic of the study is about Western Education in Uganda between 1878 and 1939. When the European explorers reached Uganda, in 1862, they found Ugandan people practicing their traditional education outside from their parents and leaders. The Ugandan people used to learn knowledge and skills through oral traditions and practice. When different missionary factions arrived in Uganda, each group wanted to gain more followers and to have more political influence.

Between 1900 and 1924, the missionaries introduced Western education in Uganda. They established Christianity and its practice, converted as many people as possible, and taught some simple skills in agriculture and technology. In 1924, the Protectorate Government assumed its control over education and set up a Department of Education through which many changes were introduced concerning school structure, language, and agricultural education. The relationship between the missionaries and the protectorate government balanced between collaboration and disappointment according to the nature of missionary and the government interests.

KEY WORDS:

Education; Western; Missionaries; Government; British, Theology; Industrial Training; Relationship; Agriculture; Religion.